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*Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi.*¹—By
MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

I.

The discovery in the course of excavations at Susa in December, 1900, of the large diorite stele containing the elaborate code of laws collected and promulgated by King Hammurapi in the early years of his reign (2123-2081 B. C.) furnishes a definite measure for gauging the state of society in Babylonia in the third millennium before this era, and in so far as the execution of justice reflects the stage reached in the process of civilization, it permits also of a comparison with general conditions prevailing in subsequent periods. As a result of the detailed study given to this remarkable monument by many scholars since its discovery,² the interpretation may be said to have been completed, although there still remain quite a number of technical terms and phrases in the code in regard to which agreement has not as yet been reached. In addition to this the general principles guiding the order of subjects treated in the code and the arrangement of subdivisions within larger sections of the code that may be distinguished have been ascertained, thanks largely to the keen researches of one of our own members, Professor Lyon.³ There still remains, however, the problem of tracing the process which led to the final codification of the laws, for it is obvious that such a compilation as Hammurapi undertook presupposes a long antecedent process in the perfection of a method of dispensing justice in the course of which, with the growing complications of advancing social conditions, the established practice—and law in its beginning is merely traditional or conventional practice—would be subject to modifications in order to adapt them without abandonment of the underlying

¹ Presidential address before the American Oriental Society, April 9th, 1915, in New York City. See the bibliography in Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia & the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London, 1914), pp. 65-76.

² See especially Lyon's paper in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXV, pp. 243-265. 24547

³ JAOS 36.

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principles to later conditions. It is to this aspect of the code to which I should like to direct attention.

That Hammurapi was not the first to make the attempt at putting the laws of the land together has, of course, been recognized. The expression used by him at the close of the long introduction to the code (col. V. 20-22) "I established law and justice in the language of the land (*ina pî mâtim*)" shows, as was first pointed out by Dr. Lyon,³ that Hammurapi's chief merit lay in promulgating a code in Semitic or Akkadian form as the official language of the new empire founded by him. In confirmation of this, fragments of a Sumerian code have now turned up which represent the prototype, if not the actual original of the laws in the Semitic code.⁴ Furthermore, we have the express testimony of an early ruler of Lagash, Urukagina (c. 2700 B. C.), to the reforms in temple fees and in taxes instituted by him as well as to his endeavors to regulate abuses in commercial transactions and even to abolish polyandry.⁵ His aim in his reforms is, as he expressly states, "that the powerful may not injure the orphan and the widow,"⁶ much as Hammurapi declares the general purport of his code to be to restrain "the strong from oppressing the weak, and to secure justice for the poor and the widow."⁷ The language used by Urukagina in describing his various reforms shows that he put them in the form of laws and we are, therefore, justified in carrying back the codification of laws in the Euphrates Valley to at least five centuries before Hammurapi, and no doubt the period can be moved still further back.

II.

We also have the evidence that legal practice—as is natural—was subject to change in ancient Babylonia. This is shown not only by deviations in the business and legal documents from the stipulations in the Hammurapi code, but by a comparison

³ J.A.O.S., XXV, p. 270.

⁴ See Clay in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1914, pp. 1-3. [The Yale fragment of the Sumerian code now published by Clay in *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts I* (New Haven, 1915). No. 28.]

⁵ de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée Partie Epigraphique* p. L and repeated with variations in three other texts, *ib.* pp. L to LII; see also Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Königsinschriften*, pp. 44-56.

⁶ *ib.*, Inscription B-C, col. XII, 22-23.

⁷ Col. XI, 59-62.

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for the period before Hammurapi of the so-called "Sumerian family laws" first investigated by our fellow-member Professor Haupt many years ago.⁸ Now, in view of the fact that five columns in the code are missing,⁹ we cannot, of course, be absolutely certain that the code did not contain the laws setting forth—as in the fragment of the "Sumerian Family Laws"—the regulations (a) in case a son cuts himself loose from father or mother, or (b) when a father or mother desires to disinherit a son or (c) when a wife cuts herself loose from her husband or (d) when a husband divorces his wife, or (e) when a hired slave dies or is lost or runs off or is taken, or falls sick, but since we do know from other sources¹⁰ the character of some of the laws set forth in the missing portion, taken in connection with the systematic arrangement of the subjects comprised in the code, it is not likely that any of the cases dealt with in the above enumeration were taken up before § 127 which begins the large subdivision extending to § 194, covering marriage, dowry, divorce, desertion, adoption, disinheritance, adultery, incest and other subjects that may be broadly grouped under "family laws." Moreover, we have within this subdivision at least two legal decisions which furnish a basis of comparison with the "Sumerian" laws and point to a decided variation from the latter. §§ 168-169 read "if a father determines to disinherit his son, and says to the judge 'I disinherit my son', but upon an examination on the part of the judge it appears that the son has not committed a crime to justify the disinheritance, the father may not disinherit his son." If we contrast this with the third paragraph in the 'Sumerian Family Laws,' to wit,¹¹ "if a father says to his son, 'thou art not my son,' he must leave house and wall" (i. e., he has no further share in the estate), we note in the code the advance to a condition in which the paternal authority is definitely curbed as against the absolute control in the other instance. The code

⁸ *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), appearing as part of a large collection of Sumerian paradigms, phrases, etc. See Rawlinson V, Pl. 25.

⁹ Intentionally erased by the Elamitic conqueror, who carried the precious monument as a trophy to Susa, and who, no doubt, had intended to write his own inscription, glorifying his deeds, on the erased portion.

¹⁰ Meissner, *Altbabylonische Gesetze*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, pp. 493-523.

¹¹ V Rawlinson, Pl. 25, col. II, 34-39.

not only provides a legal procedure for the proposed act of disinheritance by obliging the father to go before a judge, but the court examines into the matter and, if it does not find sufficient cause, restrains the father from carrying out his intention. More than this and by way of further restriction of parental authority, a supplementary stipulation (§ 169), which we may regard as a still later decision, provides that even if a sufficient cause is found, the first offense must be forgiven, and only in case of a repetition of the offense does the court consent to the disinheritance. The conclusion is justified, therefore, that the "Sumerian family laws" reflect an older practice which has passed away, without, however, the abandonment of the underlying principle that the father has the right to disinherit his son,—only that he must show cause for exercising his authority.

The old expressions 'thou art not my father' and 'thou art not my mother' are still retained in the code (§ 192) as formulae to denote the throwing off of parental authority, but only in the case of children of doubtful station¹² who have been adopted. In such a case, the parental authority is absolute and the punishment prescribed for the one who rebels against this authority is the excision of the tongue—which as a punishment is evidently a survival of very early days. The phrases in question, thus restricted to cases where the once generally acknowledged absolute parental authority is still retained, are in themselves further proof of the changes which legal procedure and practice underwent in ancient Babylonia.

¹² Namely the Ner-Se-Ga, rendered by Winckler and Mueller "prostitute" and by Ungnad-Kohler as 'Kaemmerling, but who appears to have been originally a person of low station—perhaps born in the palace and pressed into palace service—rising in the course of time to a higher station as a guard (*manes pāni*) Brœnnow, *Classified List* No. 9201 or *musda škalī* ("palace guard"), according to the explanatory addition in § 187. (See the passages quoted by Meissner, *Assyrische Studien* IV, p. 12.) In this capacity the Ner-Se-Ga is not infrequently mentioned in legal tablets, e. g., Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht* No. 100, 32. That the Ner-Se-Ga in the code is looked upon as occupying a low social grade is indicated by the juxtaposition (§§ 187 and 192) with *mar Sal sikru*, i. e. "the son of a public woman," literally 'the woman belonging to any man.' That the Ner-Se-Ga and the *mar Sal sikru* designate offspring of doubtful origin is further shown by § 193 which stipulates that if either the one or the other finds out his origin, and through a distaste for his foster-parents returns to his father's house, his eye shall be plucked out.

Equally suggestive is the comparison of § 142 of the code, the case in which a woman declines to have sexual relations with her husband, with the fifth paragraph of the Sumerian family laws. The latter reads "If a wife gets a distaste (*izir*)¹³ for her husband and says 'thou art not my husband,' they shall throw her into the river." This is as simple as well as an absolute procedure, in contrast to the corresponding paragraph in the code (§ 142) which reads:

"If a woman gets a distaste (*izir*) for her husband and says 'Thou shalt not have me,' (and) if on subsequent inquiry it appears that she has been careful of herself,¹⁴ without sin, whereas her husband has gone about and neglected her, that woman is without blame. She shall receive her dowry¹⁵ and return to her father's house." The old law, however, remains in force, in case it turns out that the woman has not been careful, has gone about and ruined her house and neglected her husband. In that case (§ 143) "they shall throw her into the water." The advance in the social status of the married woman and corresponding legal procedure is indicated by the provision that an inquiry is instituted, which may result in justifying the wife's aversion, whereas the older law gives her no right, whatsoever, against her husband's will. Incidentally, also, the substitution of the phrase of "thou shalt not have me" instead of the older one "thou art not my husband" is an illustration of the change, pointing to her right under the later procedure to actually reject her husband. There is no longer any presumption of her being rebellious in case her

¹³ Professor Haupt (*Zeits. für Assy.* XXX, p. 93) has shown that the term has reference to a refusal on the part of the wife to have sexual intercourse with her husband.

¹⁴ i. e., has not given herself to anyone else.

¹⁵ *Seriktu* "gift," which designates the marriage settlement made by the father of the bride and given to the bridegroom, in contrast to the *tirhatu* which is the gift given by the bridegroom to the bride's father. The latter is a survival of marriage by purchase, the former originally the wages of the daughter for services rendered her father as long as she was unmarried, given on leaving her father's house but turned over to the husband as the owner of his wife. The *seriktu*, evidently, represents a later practice, belonging to a period when the parental authority over his children was curbed to the extent that he was obliged to compensate his daughter for services rendered. See Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 306. A third term, *nudunnu*, occurring in the later elements of the code (§§ 171-172, see below, p. 28), is the gift or settlement given by the bridegroom directly to the bride.

conduct is justified by the court, but she is entirely within her right in refusing intercourse with him. To be sure, the Babylonian-Assyrian law stopped short of a woman actually divorcing her husband; the privilege of divorce always remained with the husband, but it is a considerable advance for the woman to be permitted with the sanction of the court to leave her husband and have her marriage settlement or dowry returned to her. Now, in legal documents of the Hammurapi period, the old phrases "thou art not my husband" and "thou art not my wife" still occur in marriage contracts, with the stipulation in the former case that she is to be thrown into the river, and in the latter that the husband is to give his wife $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver, precisely as in the Sumerian family laws¹⁶; and it is natural to find legal formulae surviving in legal usage after they have lost their original force. The significant feature, however, is that the code itself no longer uses these phrases in the paragraphs dealing with the relationship between husband and wife in case the marriage has resulted in issue. The code thus distinguishes between two conditions, (1) in case a woman has borne children to her husband and (2) in case she has not. In the former case (§ 137), the wife receives the marriage settlement and also an income from her husband's estate,¹⁷ so as to be able to rear her children; and after the latter have reached their majority, the divorced wife receives a share, corresponding to that of one of her children, whereupon she is free to marry again whomsoever she chooses. If there is no issue to the marriage (§ 138), the wife receives her dowry (*tirbatu*) and her marriage settlement (*šeriktu*) and in case there is no marriage settlement then one mana of silver (§ 139).

¹⁶ e. g., *Cun. Texts* VIII, Pl. 7b. The practice, however, is not uniform. In Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* No. 90, 20, only 10 shekels of silver are given to the wife as the amount of her original dowry (lines 7-8), while *Cun. Texts* II, Pl. 44, 10-11, she is to be thrown from some eminence (An-Zag-Gar = *dimtu* "column," Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* No. 4676), whereas the husband on divorcing his wife is to give up "house and contents" to his wife. Again in Poebel, *Legal Documents of the First Dynasty*, No. 48, 14-16, the wife stipulates that she is to receive $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver in case of divorce by her husband, whereas if she says to her husband "thou art not my husband" she is to be shorn of her hair and sold. Such appears to have been the practice in Nippur.

¹⁷ Literally "field, orchard and house," to indicate the entire real estate.

The social advance over earlier conditions, reflected in such provisions, is considerable. The husband can no longer put his wife away at will. If no blame attaches to her, a fair compensation must be given, not merely the half mana—calculated, presumably, as the average marriage settlement in earlier days,—but in case there are no children, also the dowry; or if there are children, then in lieu of the dowry, sufficient alimony to bring up her children and a share of her husband's estate, after the children shall have reached their majority.

The marital authority thus appears greatly curbed, corresponding to the restrictions put upon the exercise of parental authority. The advance from $\frac{1}{2}$ mana to a whole mana of silver as the amount to be given to the divorced childless wife in case there is no marriage settlement may be taken as representing the growth in material prosperity in Hammurapi's days as against the simpler conditions in earlier days. It is also interesting to note that the provisions in the case of a concubine who has borne children to her master are identical as in the case of the chief wife (§ 137).

The old Sumerian family laws give the power of absolute divorce to the husband, without distinction whether there are children or not, whether the woman has done wrong or is entirely innocent. Hammurapi's code not only makes a distinction between the childless wife and the one who has borne children to her husband, but permits the absolute divorce without compensation only in case of guilt on the part of the wife, or as the phrase runs (§ 141) "if she has determined to go about acting foolishly, destroying her house, (and) neglecting her husband." In that case the husband may simply say, 'I divorce her' and she goes her way empty-handed, while a supplementary provision,—in the form of a comment or an answer to a question raised—states that if he does not divorce her, he may nevertheless take a second wife and reduce the first one to the rank of maid. One cannot help suspecting that this supplement is more of the nature of a hypothetical case to provide for a possible contingency, but one that would not be likely to occur in the days of Hammurapi.

III.

We are fortunate in having, also, the evidence for the continued modification of legal practices after the compilation of the code which is thus shown not to have been the absolute

standard for all times without change or deviation, though to be sure, we must always bear in mind that according to the ancient conception of law as of divine origin, the underlying principle of a law once promulgated is never abandoned. A statute was an oracular decision—a *têrtu*, just as the corresponding Hebrew term *tôra* involved the "decree" of a deity. Hebrew theology was necessarily led to assume a divine revelation for its laws, simply because the Hebrews lived at one time on the same plane of thought as did their fellow Semites and their fellows of other ethnic groups in regarding the gods as the source of all law, with the priest or king acting merely as an intermediary or as the representative of the deity. Hence, the principle throughout antiquity and which passed down far beyond the borders of ancient history, was that law is fixed and immutable. As a divine decision it is infallible and in accord with this the Hammurapi code provides that the judge who errs or who alters an opinion once given—it is all one—is removed from office, besides being subjected to a heavy fine, since he thereby reveals himself as unworthy to speak in the name of an infallible god (§ 5). New applications of the law, however, may introduce *modifications*, without affecting the underlying principle. Changes in the status of society may entail even radical departures from an older practice without involving an actual abrogation of the old law itself. Cases must constantly have arisen in Babylonia and Assyria which necessitated an appeal to the court for a decision. That decision was always based on the existing law, but not infrequently the decision might seem to be so contrary to the original purport of the law as to practically overthrow it. So, for example, the principle that a man's wife and children belonged to him as part of his chattels was maintained in the Code of Hammurapi. According to this principle, he could sell his wife and children for debt, but in accord with what we have seen to have been a steady direction towards a restriction of parental and marital authority, the code provides (§ 117) that he can sell his wife, son or daughter for three years only; in the fourth year they must be given their freedom—a stipulation which changes the sale into an indenture for a limited period. Theoretically, however, the *right* to sell is maintained, despite the significant restriction in the practical execution.

From this point of view we must judge the deviation from the practice prescribed in the code that we encounter in a group

of laws found on a tablet of the British Museum to which Dr. Peiser first called attention.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the tablet is in a very fragmentary condition, so that only a portion of it is intelligible. It belongs to a period far later than Hammurapi, though the imperfectly preserved condition of the fragment makes it impossible to fix an exact date. The tablet itself may have been an extract from a more complete code made for school purposes, though I am inclined to believe that the fragment is part of a complete code. The portion preserved affords an opportunity of instituting a comparison with certain sections in the Hammurapi code, with the result of showing supplementary regulations of considerable interest, as well as actual deviations in practice. A few illustrations must suffice. A paragraph stipulates that if a tablet regarding a field (i. e. a piece of property) exists, duly sealed in the name of some party, but a corresponding duplicate tablet as a document of authorization was not prepared, the one in whose name the one tablet is made out as the owner shall take the field or house. The provision is evidently a supplementary decision to § 7 of the Hammurapi code which states in general terms that any purchase made without witnesses and a formal deed (*riksu*) is invalid, in order specifically to provide that one copy of a regularly drawn up deed of sale or possession should be prepared, but not a duplicate, which must have become so common as to have been regarded as quite obligatory. The supplementary decision is in accord with the spirit of the older law that a single document, testifying to the ownership of a piece of property, suffices.

§ 153 of the code provides that in the event of the death of a childless wife, the marriage gift (*tirhatu*) for the wife is returned to the husband, and the dowry given by the father of the wife reverts to the father. The other case of the husband dying before his wife without issue is not covered in the code. In supplementary fashion again the later code ordains¹⁹ that the marriage gift belongs to the wife as well as the dowry to dispose of as she pleases; and in case there was no dowry, then the court fixes on an amount or proportion to the estate of the husband to be given to the widow. Similarly the following

¹⁸ *Jurisprudentiae Babylonicae quae supersunt* (Cöthen, 1890). See also Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 86-91.

¹⁹ Col. IV, 8-24.

paragraph, making provision in the event of the death of a husband whose wife had borne him children supplements § 167 of the code—the case of the wife dying before the husband. The widow receives her dowry and any gift that her husband may have made to her—including, therefore, any special provision in his will; she may remarry and if there are children from the second marriage, the mother's dowry goes to the children of both marriages. According to the code, if the husband marries again and has children through the second marriage, the dowry of the first wife reverts to her children, and the dowry of the second wife to her children on the death of the father.

Such supplements clearly represent decisions in regard to cases as they arose, which were not specifically provided for in the code; and there was comparatively little difficulty in reaching a conclusion through the extension and application of the underlying principles of equity assumed in the code, but we also encounter direct deviations from the older practice in the later code, as e. g., the provision²⁰ that in case a man whose wife has borne him children marries again after his wife's death and has issue also from the second marriage, then upon the father's death, the sons of the first marriage receive two-thirds of the father's estate and those of the second marriage the remaining third, whereas according to the Hammurapi code (§ 167), the father's estate is divided equally between the offspring of both marriages.²¹ Modifications of this nature point, as already suggested, to economic changes as well as to a social advance in the status of woman, whereby the wife becomes more than a mere possession of her husband, and leading to a preference being given to the children of the first marriage.

As a last illustration we may instance § 279 of the code which briefly declares that if a claim is made against a slave—male or female—who has been sold, the seller is made responsible for the claim. The later document (Col. II, 15-23) more specifically

²⁰ Col. IV, 32-43.

²¹ The later code makes special provision for the daughters (Col. IV, 43 seq.), but the tablet is defective at this point; it presumably provided that the sons were to maintain their sisters till marriage and give them a dowry out of the paternal estate. Similarly, in all probabilities in the paragraph dealing with the division of the mother's estate among the children of her two marriages (Col. IV, 45 seq.), where again the tablet breaks off after the mention of the "sisters."

takes up the case of a female slave, and after providing that in the event of a justified claim the seller must return the full amount according to the deed of sale, (though not the interest,) adds that if in the interval between the sale and the claim, the slave has borne children, the latter must be purchased at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver for each child—apparently a merely nominal sum to establish the right of the claimant to the offspring of his slave, though also a recognition of his obligation to give compensation to the *ad interim* owner for the increased value of the possession restored to him.

IV.

The proof thus furnished for a steady modification in legal procedure and practice in Babylonia, and a modification on the whole in the line of a progress to more equitable conditions, accompanying a gradual social advance, justifies us in applying the same method to the Hammurapi code as holds good for the Pentateuchal codes, with a view of differentiating *within* the code itself between older and later elements. The parallel can, I think, be carried further to an identity of the method by which the substratum in the case of the various Pentateuchal codes and of the Hammurapi code is amplified (a) through further specifications to provide for new cases that arise and (b) through amplifications of all kinds, representing in many cases answers to questions raised, in others an interpretation of an older law in a manner to adapt it to later circumstances. Elsewhere, I have shown,²² that we can detect in the Pentateuchal codes the beginnings of that process which was carried out on a large scale in the Babylonian Talmud, to wit, the distinction between the law—the Mishna—and the commentary upon it—the Gemara—with this difference, to be sure, that in the Pentateuchal codes the discussions on the law are not given, but merely the decisions as an outcome of the discussions, or merely the answers to implied questions are set forth. Much in the same way we may by a careful study and analysis of the sections and subdivisions of the Hammurapi code, separate the "Mishna," as it were, from the "Gemara," the older statutes from the subsequent additions, the nature of which varies just as the additions do in the Pentateuchal codes. To

²² "The So-called Leprosy Laws" in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 357 seq.

carry out the analysis in detail would carry us much too far; nor are we as yet in a position to pick out throughout the code the original substratum which forms the point of departure for the further growth of the code through a complicated process till it reached its final stage. All that can be attempted here is to justify by a number of examples the general thesis maintained that for a proper understanding of the code we must carefully differentiate between older and later elements.

In a general survey of the code we are struck by the fact that after some specific law is registered, special provisions are made for certain classes of the population, more particularly for the *Maš-En-Kak*, or *muškēnu*, the general force of which as plebeian may now be regarded as certain.²³ So, for example, after setting forth (§ 139) that in default of a marriage gift to his wife (handed over to the father-in-law in trust), the husband in divorcing a wife who has not borne children to him, gives her one mana of silver, it is added (§ 140) that in case the husband is a *Maš-En-Kak*, or "plebeian," he gives only one-third of a mana. Again, after setting forth the *lex talionis* (§§ 196-197) that if one destroys the eye or bone of a man, the eye or bone of the one who inflicts the injury shall be destroyed, it is said that if it is the eye or bone of a plebeian, one mana of silver shall be paid (§ 198). Upon the law (§ 200)

²³ See Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London, 1914), p. 8. There are traces in the code of a period when the *muškēnu* as belonging to a lower class was obliged to render service to the palace and possibly to the patricians or free nobles; or at all events he could be pressed into such service. Hence the term is sometimes used with an implication of such service. He is, however, essentially a freeman and if he sometimes appears as a 'free laborer' it is due to the position of a servitor which he formerly held and which naturally led to his being a 'laborer' after he had become entirely independent of both the king and of the *amēlu*, the "man" *par excellence*, who in the code occupies a higher grade than the *muškēnu* and who in fact in contradistinction to the latter is originally the "patrician" (Johns, *ib.*, p. 8). It is rather interesting to note that whereas in the feudal system of the Middle Ages, the serf is the "man" of the lord, in ancient Babylonia the "man" is the nobleman. It should be noted, however, that the original force of "patrician" for *amēlu* has given way to a large extent in the code in favor of the more general conception of a free citizen in the full sense and without any restrictions, whereas the *muškēnu*, although also a freeman, belongs to a lower class. Ordinarily, therefore, when not specifically contrasted to *muškēnu*, the *amēlu* is the citizen and is to be rendered "man."

that if a man's tooth is knocked out, the tooth of the one who inflicts the injury is to be knocked out, we find (§ 201) that in the case of a plebeian, one-third of a mana of silver shall be paid. Here the substitution of a fine for a bodily punishment is in itself an indication pointing to a later decision. Similarly (§ 203) if a man strikes another, he is to pay one mana of silver, but if it is a plebeian (§ 204) only 10 shekels of silver. If the injured person dies (§ 207), the fine is ordinarily one-half of a mana of silver, but in the case of a plebeian one-third of a mana of silver. In the same way, special paragraphs (§§ 211-212, 216, 222²⁴) provide fines for an injury to a pregnant woman who is the daughter of a plebeian, or for her death through a blow, for physician's fees, for an operation on an eye, or for a broken bone, supplementary to the provisions in the case of an *amêlu* being the offending or injured party. In all these cases, the paragraphs referring to the special class of citizens designated as *Maš-En-Kak* may safely be regarded as later elements, supplements to the law itself, embodying special decisions of the court for the class in question.

V.

The code recognizes palace or temple property (§§ 6, 8) including palace slaves (§§ 15, 16, 175, 176) as distinct from other property. Death is the general punishment for stealing temple or palace possessions (§ 6)—though in what again appears to be a later provision a return of thirty fold is stipulated in case the stolen object is an ox, sheep, ass, pig or boat— (§ 8). Death is also to be meted out to the one who aids a palace slave—male or female—to escape or who harbors such a slave in his house (§§ 15-16). We can understand such special provisions in view of the sanctity attaching to the temple as also to the palace because of the sacro-sanct position of the king; and no doubt such laws date from a very early period, but the same reasons do not apply to the *Maš-En-Kak*. If, therefore, we find the latter added in some cases, we are, I think, again justified in looking upon such an addition as a later element in the code, though naturally suggested because the "plebeian" in his capacity as one that could be pressed into

²⁴ In § 219 the term *warad Maš-En-Kak* appears to be an error for *warad amêlim*, as in § 223.

service²⁵ belongs in a manner to the palace. Such an addition appears in § 8 where it is stipulated that the theft of an ox, sheep, etc., from a "plebeian" entails a ten-fold return and, similarly, I have no hesitation in regarding the words "or the male slave of a plebeian or the female slave of a plebeian" in § 15 as a supplemental insertion to place the theft of such a slave on a level with the theft of a palace slave, male or female. The insertion is even more clearly revealed in § 16 which originally must have read as follows:

"If a man harbors in his house, be it a male or female palace slave who has escaped from the palace, and does not bring (the slave) forth at the command of the overseer (*nāgīru*), the master of that house shall be put to death."

After the words "of the palace" (*ša ekallim*) the text has *u lu Maš-En-Kak* (literally "or a plebeian") which, to say the least, is awkwardly put. We should expect *lu ša ekallim lu ša Maš-En-Kak*. As they stand the words impress one as a gloss, inserted as a supplement to the text in order to make § 16 conform to § 15.

The two classes 'palace slaves' and "plebeians" (*Maš-En-Kak*) are again placed side by side in supplementary statutes (§§ 175-176, 176a) dealing with the status of the wife and children in case of a marriage between a palace slave or the slave of a plebeian and the daughter of a citizen of higher rank. The status of such slaves was clearly higher than that of ordinary slaves²⁶; they could marry the daughter of free citizens and it is provided (1) that the owner of the slave has no claim on the children born of such a marriage for service, (2) that the dowry brought by the wife belongs to her after her husband's death, (3) that the property acquired in common by the slave and his wife shall on the death of the husband be divided into two equal parts, one-half going to the owner of the slave and the other half to the widow in trust for her children, and (4) that the same procedure, i. e., the division of the estate, is to be followed in case there is no dowry. The supplementary character of these statutes is self-evident; they represent decisions to apply to special circumstances to illustrate the application of the laws of inheritance to a woman who

²⁵ Above, p. 12, note 23.

²⁶ We may conclude from these paragraphs that an ordinary slave could not marry the daughter of a free citizen.

marries a slave of higher rank. The recognition of such a marriage, not only as legal but apparently as entirely normal and proper, is in itself an indication of an advanced status accorded to palace slaves and to the slaves of a plebeian over ordinary slaves. The custom of such marriages must at some time before Hammurapi's days have become sufficiently common to necessitate special legal decisions, regarding the status of the wife and children.

I venture, therefore, to set up the thesis that the introduction of the *Maš-En-Kak* in the code represents in all cases a later element, prompted by economic changes, and that the special provisions for marriages with slaves of the palace or with slaves of plebeians similarly represent supplements to older sections.

VI.

There are two other classes for whom special regulations are introduced into the code,—the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* (low birth) and the son of a *Sal zikru* (public woman)—and I venture to think that the paragraphs in which these are introduced likewise represent later elements. The *Sal zikru*, as already pointed out,²⁷ can hardly be anything else than a public woman or prostitute, and the juxtaposition suggests that the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* must also be a child of doubtful parentage or at all events of low origin. The three references in the code to these two classes occur in the subdivision devoted to regulations regarding adopted children (§§ 185-194). The secondary or supplementary character of the three paragraphs (§§ 187, 192 and 193) becomes evident on a closer inspection of their position within the subdivision in question. The first law of the subdivision (§ 185) stipulates that no claim can be brought for a child legally adopted and reared by a foster-father. To this, § 187, declaring that no claim can be brought against the son of *Ner-Se-Ga* who is taken for palace service, or for the son of a public woman is clearly a supplementary decision to include in the original law adopted children of doubtful parentage. Similarly, to § 186 providing that an adopted child may under certain circumstances return to his own father's house—an exception, therefore, allowed against the general law in § 185—there is added as a special and perfectly natural decision § 192

²⁷ See above, p. 4, note 12.

that in the case of the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman, where no such exception seems reasonable, the bond of adoption cannot be annulled. To express this the code, as will be recalled,²⁸ introduces the language of the old Sumerian 'family laws,' and states that if such a son rejects his foster-parents, his tongue shall be cut out. An additional paragraph (§ 191) embodies the decision that if such a bastard finds out who his father was and, rejecting his foster-parents, goes back to his father's house, i. e., attempts to annul the bond of adoption, his eye shall be plucked out.

Reviewing, now, this subdivision dealing with adoption (§§ 185-194), we can trace the growth of the 10 paragraphs of which it consists without much difficulty.

The basis of the subdivision is formed by §§ 185-186, 190 and 191, setting forth (1) that no claim can be made for a minor legally adopted and reared by the foster-father, (2) that if after the adoption the child is offensive²⁹ to his foster-parents, he is to be returned to his father's house, (3) that if the foster-father does not reckon the adopted minor among his sons (i. e., does not give him an equal status), the child is to be returned to his father's house (i. e., resumes his status as the child of his own father), (4) that if after rearing the adopted child, the foster-father wishes to disinherit him, he cannot send him off empty-handed,³⁰ but must give him one-third of the portion of a son, to which a supplementary decision adds that the portion is not to be taken from the field, orchard or house, i. e., not from real estate, but presumably in cash or goods. After the first two paragraphs, there are three insertions, representing as I believe later elements, §§ 187, 188, 189, to wit, that (1) no claim can be brought for the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman if legally adopted, (2) nor for a

²⁸ See above p. 4. "Thou art not my father," "Thou art not my mother."

²⁹ *i-hi-a-at* which Peiser (*Orient. Literaturzeitung*, 1904, p. 236) wishes to take in the sense of 'prefers' (from *hātu*). That, however, would be in direct contradiction to the preceding paragraph. Something more than a mere preference must be assumed before an adopted child must be given up. Despite the difficulty of deriving *ihiat* from *hātu* "sin," we must from the context conclude that the child has committed some offense against his foster-parents.

³⁰ *re-ku-su*, following Delitzsch (*Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XIX, p. 374).

child adopted by an artisan for the purpose of teaching him his trade but, (3) if the artisan does not teach the adopted child his trade, then the child may return to his father's house. Similarly, to the fourth and last paragraph (§ 191) of the original adoption laws, three further decisions are added, §§ 192, 193 and 194, two of these setting forth the law in regard to the adopted son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman who rebels against parental authority, or who finds his parentage and in a spirit of distaste for his foster-parents returns to his father's house, and the third providing that in the case of a nurse who without knowledge of the parents substitutes a child in place of the one given to her to nurse and which has died on her hands, shall have her breasts cut off. This supplemental decision smacks somewhat of the school—like some of the purely theoretical and hypothetical instances in the later additions to the Pentateuchal codes—though it is, of course, possible that cases of substitution may have occurred with sufficient frequency to warrant a special decision; it is placed here because it involves an involuntary adoption through a fraud practiced on the unwilling foster-parents.

VII.

We are in a position by a similar analysis to separate between older and later elements in the code in §§ 195-227 which form a group dealing with the *lex talionis*. A comparison with the various forms of the law in the Pentateuchal codes furnishes an aid in the analysis, as it on the other hand justifies the attempt to separate between older and later elements in the section of the code in question. In the oldest of the Pentateuchal codes (Ex. 21, 23-25) the law reads, "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, blow for blow." The form in the code of Holiness, however, (Lev. 24, 21) "break for break, eye for eye, tooth for tooth" shows that in the Book of the Covenant we have an artificial expansion by a number of additions. Deuteronomy 19, 21 is clearly dependent upon the form in the Covenant code "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." The form in the code of Holiness may, therefore, be regarded as the oldest and presents a clear parallel to §§ 196-201 of the Hammurapi code where in suc-

2 JAOS 36.

cession, eye, bone³¹ and tooth are dealt with. Within these six paragraphs forming a subdivision of the section we can pick out §§ 196, 197 and 200 as older, with the remaining ones as supplements. These three paragraphs read

"If a man destroys the eye of another, they shall destroy his eye.

If one breaks a man's bone, his bone shall be broken.

If one knocks out the tooth of a man,³² his tooth they shall knock out."

Between the paragraphs regarding the bone and the tooth, appear two supplemental decisions (§§ 198-199) in case the man whose eye or bone is injured is a *Maš-En-Kak* ("plebeian") or a slave. In the former case there is a fine of one mana of silver, in the latter one-half of his price. Similarly, after the paragraph about the tooth, another decision is given (§ 201), to wit, if it is the tooth of a *Maš-En-Kak* that is knocked out, the fine is one-third of a mana of silver. In order to be complete, we should have had a further paragraph setting forth the fine in case a slave's tooth is knocked out. We may perhaps assume that the fine was one-half the amount in the case of a *Maš-En-Kak*, or one-sixth of a mana of silver. These additions have suggested in § 200 (as well as in § 203) the addition of the word "of his own rank," (*mehrišu*, or *ša kima šu'āti*), anticipating, as it were, the supplementary decisions. The circumstance that this addition was not consistently added in the other paragraphs, viz. §§ 196 and 197, points to its being an afterthought, and incidentally further justifies the analysis here attempted.

There follows a section consisting of 13 paragraphs regarding blows (§§ 202-214) which would correspond to two of the additions in the code of the Covenant, "wound" (פצע) and "blow" (חבירה). That the entire section in the Hammurapi code represents an amplification of the original paragraphs of the *lex talionis* follows from the punishments detailed which are tortures rather than exact equivalents for the injury done, or fines.³³ For all that, it would be carrying the analysis too far to assume that the amplification may not have formed a

³¹ Ner-Pad-Du "bone" in the Hammurapi Code is the equivalent of *sheber*, "break" or "fracture," in the Code of the Covenant.

³² The text adds, "of his own rank."

³³ An exception, however, is formed by § 210, where it is provided that if through a blow a pregnant woman has a miscarriage and dies, the daughter of the man who committed the assault shall be put to death.

part of the oldest substratum of the code. All that is maintained here is, that the section itself has its origin in an amplification of the *lex talionis* and is not of the same texture as the latter. The arrangement of the section shows a variation from the preceding one in so far as we have a logical sequence of four possible cases (§§ 202-205), (1) a man strikes another of superior rank on the cheek, (2) or one of his own rank,³⁴ (3) one of inferior rank strikes one of inferior rank, (4) a slave strikes a free man, the punishment being corporeal in the first and fourth instance, sixty strokes with an ox-tail and cutting off of the ear respectively, but fines in the second and third instance, one mana and 10 shekels respectively.

The code then passes on to more serious results than mere insult by striking another on the cheek. Here, again, the order is much the same as in the case of the *lex talionis*. Throughout it is assumed that the more serious injury was unintentional. Paragraph 206 deals with the case that the wound inflicted is sufficiently serious to necessitate medical treatment. The one who inflicts the wound swears that he did it without intent and pays the physician's fee. If the injured man dies (§ 207) as a result, the fine is one-half mana of silver to which a subsequent decision adds that if the victim is a plebeian, the fine is only one-third of a mana of silver. Blows inflicted on a married woman with subsequent miscarriage and possible death are then considered in six paragraphs (§§ 209-214), where again we first have two instances of the blow bringing about (a) merely a miscarriage, entailing a fine of ten shekels (§ 209), or (b) resulting in death (§ 210) in which case, since the *lex talionis* comes into play, the daughter of the man who inflicted the blow is put to death. Correspondingly, two paragraphs deal with the case that the victim is the daughter of a plebeian where the fine for a miscarriage is five shekels and for resulting death one-half of a mana. These instances are followed by two others, covering the case of the victim being a female slave with a fine of two shekels for miscarriage, and for resulting death one-third of a mana. The circumstance that the *lex talionis* is introduced in § 210 justifies us in regarding §§ 209-210 as belonging to an earlier period than the subsequent ones, apart from the other considerations already urged in the course of this discussion.

³⁴ The expression here (§ 203) is *kima šu'atti* as against *mehrisu* in § 200—a further indication of an independent origin.

VIII.

The last subdivision, §§ 215-225, deals with physicians' fees for successful operations and with fines (and in one case bodily torture) for unsuccessful ones. The point of view is peculiar; it does not strike one as the outcome of the popular attitude towards the surgeon, but as a theoretical deduction of a legal nature, based on the analogy between a wound inflicted by an assault and the wound that the physician makes in the course of an operation. The same word *zimmu* for "wound" is in fact used in the paragraph (§ 206), forming (as we have seen) an original portion of the subdivision in regard to serious injuries as in the subdivision which we are now considering.³⁵ This term evidently forms the point of departure for adding to the section of the *lex talionis*, one dealing with wounds inflicted by a surgeon. This last subdivision thus turns out to be dependent upon the previous one, and it is fair to presume that the order also represents the chronological sequence. There are only two paragraphs in the subdivision that impress one as in keeping with an early and popular point of view regarding a physician's services, namely, §§ 218-219, the former providing that if a physician inflicts a severe wound with an operating knife which causes the man's death or destroys his eye, the surgeon's fingers shall be cut off; or if the victim be a slave,³⁶ then a slave of equal value must be given as a compensation. Here we have the *lex talionis* in its original vigor, and it may be, therefore, that these two paragraphs belong to the oldest stratum of the code, whereas the other paragraphs setting forth the physician's fees and in two instances money fines for unsuccessful operations are again due to considerations reflecting a later period. Whether the Babylonian state in actual practice went so far as to regulate physicians' fees is open to question at least, though in default of evidence one must be careful not to dogmatize. It is, at all events, interesting to note that in the many thousands of legal documents of all periods, not one has been found dealing with medical jurisprudence.

If the point of view here suggested is correct, §§ 215-217,

³⁵ *zimmu kabtu* (§§ 215, 218, 219, 224, 225).

³⁶ The text, col. XXXIV, 85 reads, *warad Maš-En-Kak*, i. e., "the slave of a plebeian," but this cannot be correct. The general character of the subdivision demands *warad amēlim* as in § 223. See above, p. 12, note 24.

covering successful operations, belong to a later stratum than §§ 218-220. Three instances are as usual given, (1) the patient is an ordinary free citizen in which case the fee is ten shekels, if it is an operation that saves a man's life or his eye, (2) five shekels in the case of a plebeian and (3) two shekels in the case of a slave, to be paid by the slave's master. As a further and subsequent decision we have §§ 221-223 fixing the fee for setting a broken bone or for curing a sick man, five, three and two shekels respectively according as the patient is a free citizen, a plebeian or a slave. Again, § 220, stipulating that if a physician through an operation destroys a slave's eye one-half the value of the slave must be paid by the unhappy surgeon, is obviously a supplemental decision to the preceding paragraph setting forth that in the event of the death of the slave, another slave must be provided. The order here, therefore, is §§ 218, 219, 220, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 223.

Coming to §§ 224-225, the former setting forth a fee of one-sixth of the value of the animal³⁷ for a successful operation on an ox or ass, the latter obliging the veterinary to give one-fourth of the value if an unsuccessful operation causes the death of the animal, § 225 would again by analogy come first, but since the two paragraphs are clearly dependent upon the previous subdivision (§§ 215-223), indicated as such by the use of the same catch-phrase, *zimmu kabtu* 'severe wound'—the present order would be the one naturally adopted on this assumption. At all events, the two paragraphs represent supplementary decisions, extending the principle underlying surgical operations,—successful and unsuccessful,—from those performed on human beings to such as are performed on animals.

Finally § 195 reading: "If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his fingers," now standing at the head of the entire subdivision, introducing the *lex talionis* and its manifold modifications, forms the connecting link between (a) the laws of adoption and of the limitation on parental authority, and (b) the laws of the *lex talionis*. The form of the paragraph

³⁷ Hardly one-sixth of a shekel, as Harper (*Code of Hammurabi*, p. 79) and others assume. The text merely says "one-sixth silver" and the omission of the word shekel suggests that one-sixth of the value of the ox or ass is meant, as against one-fourth of the value (§ 225) in case the operation is unsuccessful and causes death. The sign for *kaspu* "silver" may be a slip for *šimi-šu* as in §§ 199 and 225.

as a *quid pro quo* punishment, the hand that struck the blow being the one to be cut off, suggests that the law itself belongs to the oldest stratum of the code.

Summing up, the subdivision §§ 195-225 may be analyzed as follows. The starting-point is formed by (a) §§ 196-197 and 200, with § 195, as an application of the *lex talionis* to a specific case, and §§ 198-199 and 201 as supplements to §§ 196 and 200 respectively. Then come (b) §§ 202-214 as amplifications to the original *lex talionis*, dealing with slight injuries (§§ 202-205) and such as are serious (§§ 206-214) involving the possibility of death, within which section §§ 209-210 are older than the rest. A third section is formed (c) by §§ 215-225, dealing with physicians' fees for successful operations, and with punishments and fines for unsuccessful ones. In §§ 215-223, dealing with operations on human beings, §§ 218-219 are older with §§ 220, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 223 as supplements, while §§ 224-225 dealing with operations on animals represent the further extension of the principles set forth in §§ 215-223 and therefore still later.

IX.

Following the general line of argument here laid down, it is clear that in the next three subdivisions of the code (a) §§ 226-227, dealing with branding slaves illegally, (b) §§ 228-233, the fees for building operations and punishment for defective buildings and (c) §§ 234-240, boat hire with punishments for accidents, the bodily punishments (on the basic principles involved in the *lex talionis*) come first, whereas the substitute of fines and the decisions in specific instances constitute the later elements. From this point of view, the two paragraphs about the branding of slaves illegally, the punishment prescribed being the cutting off of the brander's fingers or even death by impalement^{37a} under aggravated circumstances, bear the earmarks of very ancient laws, whereas the addition to the second paragraph that if the brander can swear³⁸ "I branded unwittingly" (i. e., without knowledge that he was doing or was asked to do an

^{37a} So Johns in the *Amer. Journal of Sem. Lang.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 224-228.

³⁸ See Schorr in the *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. XVII, p. 233 seq.

illegal act), he is released, is clearly a later decision in the direction of clemency under extenuating circumstances.

In the building laws, the principle of the *lex talionis* is again our guide in deciding that §§ 229-230, providing that in case a building collapses and causes the death of the owner, that the builder shall be put to death, and that if the son of the owner is the victim, then the builder's son suffers death, form the starting-point of this subdivision, with § 231, setting forth as a modified application of the principle of the *lex talionis* that if a slave is killed by the collapse, the builder must replace the slave,³⁹ as a later decision. Similarly, §§ 232-233, representing further specific cases of the collapse of a house or a wall without loss of life, belong to the later elements of the code, the fine involving merely the rebuilding of the house or wall at the architect's expense. Paragraph 228 at the head of this subdivision and § 234 at the head of the following subdivision (dealing with boat hire) and setting forth the *bonus*⁴⁰ for building a house or a boat are clearly later elements.

Within §§ 235-240 which have the appearance of being due to a more advanced state of society, the starting-point may be made with the first two, setting forth the laws in regard to accidents to a boat. If due to a careless builder the boat must be repaired or rebuilt by him, and if due to the careless handling of the one who hired it, the loss falls on the latter. Decisions in specific instances follow (1) if the boat sinks or the cargo is wrecked, because too heavily laden, the loss to be made good by the boatman, (2) if the boat sinks and is refloated in which case the boatman refunds one-half of the value of the boat as damages, (3) wages to boatmen for carrying cargo fixed at 6 gur of grain per year, (4) in case of collision with another boat, the boat going up stream being regarded as the one responsible because in a better position to avoid the accident. One need only thus summarize the decisions to make it clear that §§ 237-240 represent attempts to regulate applications of an underlying principle, with due concessions to changes in social relations. This would apply, particularly, to the endeavor to

³⁹ Instead of the slave of the builder being put to death, which would be the consistent application of the *lex talionis*, but which is set aside on the ground that a slave is a possession the loss of which must be made good.

⁴⁰ *kīštu* "present."

establish a "minimum" wage (§ 239), reflecting a state of society that has left the age of the *lex talionis* long behind it,⁴¹ retaining as the main trace of that age the principle of *quid pro quo* to fix damages as well as compensation.

X.

As the last illustration of the differentiation to be made between older and later elements in the code, let me take up an analysis of the subdivisions §§ 137-184, dealing with divorce, the status of concubines, the rights and obligations of the wife, incest, breach of promise on the part of the prospective father-in-law, dowries, marriage settlements, disinheritance and adoption of children of maid-servants, besides some miscellaneous though more or less cognate topics. These forty-eight paragraphs might all be grouped under family laws, though to be precise, §§ 127-136, dealing with adultery, slander of wife, wife-desertion,—voluntary or enforced through capture of the husband—ought to be added, as well as the subdivision §§ 185-194, regarding adoption and the like which we have already discussed.⁴²

The general advance in the status of woman over earlier conditions has also been sufficiently emphasized as a feature of the code.⁴³ We may start out, therefore, with the general principle that the marital authority is no longer absolute. The wife who has borne children may still be divorced by her husband at his pleasure, but in addition to her dowry, she must be given a sum sufficient to bring up the children, and after they have reached their majority, she is to receive a portion of her husband's estate, equivalent to the portion of one of the children and after this, she may marry again whomsoever she chooses (§ 137). We may, however, put down as a later element in the code the protection of the wife who has a chronic disease (§ 148) and who may not on that account be divorced. The husband may take an additional wife, but he must support the sick wife as long as she lives and he cannot put her away, to which a supplementary decision adds (§ 149) that the sick

⁴¹ If this view is correct, it would carry with it the later origin of such paragraphs as 228, 234, 242, 257, 258, 261, 268-277—all dealing with a minimum wage or money compensation.

⁴² Above, p. 15 *seq.*

⁴³ Above, pp. 8 and 10 *seq.*

wife, if she so chooses, may take her dowry, and return to her father's house.

We may also regard as one of the later elements in the code the right of the wife to enjoy the use of field, garden, house or goods, i. e., real or personal estate, which her husband deeds to her (§ 150). Her children have no claim upon it after the husband's death, and she may dispose of it to a favorite child. The restriction, however, is added that she may not leave it to her brother, evidently to prevent the property or possession from passing beyond the domain of her husband's family. Such provisions, likewise, as, e. g., that husband and wife shall be conjointly responsible for debts contracted in partnership after marriage, but that neither is responsible (§§ 151-152) for the debts of the other contracted before marriage, reflect an advanced stage of conjugal relationship and are to be reckoned among the latest elements in the code.

On the other hand, the right of the woman to refuse to live with her husband if she has a distaste for him (§ 142), to practically divorce him and to receive her dowry provided no blame attaches to her, may well belong to the stage with which the code starts out. To the older elements we may also reckon such a provision as that a woman who brings about the death of her husband for the sake of another man shall be impaled (§ 153), as well as most of the laws of incest (§§ 154-158), which have all the earmarks of very early enactments, entailing as they do such severe and primitive punishments as expulsion from the city of the man who has known his unmarried daughter (§ 154), strangling for the man who has illicit intercourse with his married daughter (§ 155), the daughter being thrown into the river, and death by burning for the son who commits incest with his mother (§ 157). An exception is to be made, however, for two of the paragraphs. One of these (§ 156) provides a fine of one-half mana of silver for the father who has intercourse with his son's bride, but before the son has known her.⁴⁴ Here the fine as the punishment—an index of later practice—as well as the circumstance that the woman after receiving whatever may have been settled upon her may marry whom she chooses point to

⁴⁴ Note the severer punishment for incest with a married woman in accord with the general view of primitive society, which does not hold the unmarried woman as 'forbidden' to the same degree as the one belonging to a man.

supplementary decisions. The other stipulation (§ 158) that the son who "after his father," i. e., after his father's death,⁴⁵ has illicit intercourse with his father's chief wife (but who is not his mother), who has borne children, is to be disinherited, likewise impresses one as a subsequent decision, modifying the previous paragraph which prescribes burning for both in case of incest between mother and son.

Paragraphs §§ 159-164, dealing with breach of promise cases and with questions affecting the wife's dowry, are all of the nature of judicial decisions of a specific character, introducing complicated situations that are likely to arise only in advanced forms of society. One instance (§ 161) is indeed so complicated as to suggest the "academic" questions and hypothecated cases characteristic of the Jewish "Gemara." The situation presupposed in § 159 is that of a man already betrothed, who has given a marriage settlement for his wife to his prospective father-in-law, but who now finds that he prefers another woman. He forfeits the marriage settlement and that is all. The reverse case is taken up in § 160 of the father of the bride changing his mind, in which case the wound of the disappointed lover is salved by receiving back double the amount of the marriage settlement which he handed to his prospective father-in-law. Even these two cases have an 'academic' flavor, and this is certainly so in the following paragraph (§ 161), which assumes the transfer of the marriage settlement of the prospective father-in-law who then because of some slander against the prospective son-in-law, spread by a 'friend,'⁴⁶ changes his mind and says "My daughter thou shalt not have." The court decides as in the preceding paragraph that the rejected suitor is to receive double the amount of the marriage settlement, and also that the "friend" may not marry the girl. The purpose of the statute is clearly to thwart a possible conspiracy between the father of the girl and some rival or more desirable suitor with perhaps an offer of a larger marriage settlement, but the circumstances detailed impress one as a decision based on a hypothecated case rather than on some actual occurrence.

Paragraph 162, on the other hand, is a necessary provision, to wit, that if the wife dies before her husband her dowry belongs

⁴⁵ We find the same use of 'after' in the sense of 'after the death' in §§ 150 and 171.

⁴⁶ *Ibru*, "companion," "associate," etc.

to her children. The stipulation assumes a higher status for the wife, but no higher than the one underlying provisions that belong to the older elements of the code. Closely allied to § 162 is § 167, that in case a woman dies and her husband marries again and has children also from his second wife, after his death the dowries of the two wives are divided respectively among the issue of the two marriages, whereas the father's estate is lumped and divided equally among all the children. We have here again a supplemental decision; and this suggests that the intervening paragraphs §§ 163-166 are likewise supplemental to the main body of the section, based on various cases that might arise. The cases instanced in §§ 163-164 are (1) a woman dying without issue, whereupon the marriage settlement is returned by the father-in-law, whereas the dowry reverts to the latter's estate; (2) in case of failure of the father-in-law to return the marriage gift, the husband is permitted to deduct the amount from the dowry to be returned, which perhaps warrants us in concluding that the dowry was ordinarily larger than the marriage settlement. The following two paragraphs §§ 165-166 introduce entirely new matter without connection with what precedes or follows and likewise in the form of judicial decisions and inserted at this point as the most appropriate place. The resulting break in the context confirms the supposition that the two paragraphs in question are later decisions than §§ 162, 167, 163 and 164. The former (§ 165) assumes the case that the father formally presents real estate to a favorite child. The court decides that after the father's death this special gift is not to be deducted from the share falling to that child. The case has a somewhat 'academic' flavor, as has also the following one (§ 166), providing that if the father dies before his youngest son marries, on the division of the estate a portion shall first be set aside as a marriage settlement to be at the disposal of the youngest son, after which the balance of the estate is to be divided equally.

Paragraphs 168-169, curbing the parental authority in dis-inheriting a son, have already been discussed,⁴⁷ and we have seen that the former forms part of the original code, while the latter is a supplemental decision.

In the following subdivision, §§ 170-177, we may pick out §§ 173-174 as belonging to the older elements of the code, setting

⁴⁷ Above, p. 3 *seq.*

forth that in case a woman marries twice and has issue from both marriages, her dowry is to be divided among both sets of children but in case there are no children of the second marriage, the children of the first husband receive the entire dowry.

Paragraphs 175-176A introducing special decisions for the palace slaves and for the slave of a plebeian who marries the daughter of an ordinary free citizen have already been considered⁴⁸ and reveal themselves as later elements, while § 177 is clearly a still later decision which has a special interest because we have a legal document of the days of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, illustrating the application of the law.⁴⁹ It is the case of a widow whose children are minors and who wishes to marry again. She must go to court, have the husband's estate formally transferred to herself and to her second husband in trust for her young children. Supplemental decisions, embodied in the paragraph, provide that the estate of the deceased husband may not be disposed of and that he who forecloses the household goods of a widow with minor children forfeits his claim. Similarly, §§ 170-171 may safely be put down as later elements of the code, providing that a man may legitimize the children of a maid-servant, in which case these children share equally with the other children in the ultimate division of the estate. Such a decision points to a further development in the direction of improving the status of those who ordinarily occupy an inferior social rank. In line with this, it is further provided that if the children of the maid-servant are not legitimized by the father, nevertheless upon the latter's death the maid and her children receive their freedom, the children of the main wife having no claim on them.

Then follows in the same paragraph (§ 171) a stipulation which has no direct connection with what precedes. It joins on to § 162, setting forth the law in case the wife dies before her husband. As the complement to that paragraph, it must have read originally as follows:

[“If a man takes a wife and she bears him children and that man die], the wife shall receive the marriage settlement and

⁴⁸ Above, p. 14.

⁴⁹ See Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* No. 100, and Cuq, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, VII, p. 94.

any other gift formally deeded to her by her husband (cf. § 150) and she may remain in her husband's house and enjoy it as long as she lives."

To this a further supplemental decision is added, restraining the wife, however, from disposing of the property which after her death belongs to her children. To be sure, the paragraph in which this law is inserted treats of the case where the husband dies before his wife, but since in its first part, the purpose of the paragraph is to indicate the law in the event of a man not legitimatizing the children borne to him by his maid, the addition points directly to considerable manipulation on the part of the compilers of the code to bring older and later elements into proper connection. On this supposition that the code contains by the side of many old laws, a large number of later enactments and that these are further supplemented by still later decisions, we can account for such a displacement as is here pointed out and which carries with it that § 150—closely allied to the last part of § 171—and in no direct connection with what precedes and follows, was also misplaced in the shuffling incident to the endeavor to combine the old with the new.

Paragraph 172 provides that if the husband dies before his wife and had not given a marriage settlement, the widow receives in addition to her dowry, a portion of her husband's estate, corresponding to that of one of the sons. As a further protection to the widow, it is stipulated in what again appears to be a supplemental decision, somewhat "academic," if not wholly so, that if her children attempt to drive their mother out of the house, the court inquires into the circumstances and if it transpires that she has done no wrong, the children are enjoined from maltreating their mother. If, however, the mother wishes to go, she may do so and, after leaving the marriage settlement to her children, may take the dowry (which came to her from her father) and marry again whom she pleases.

XI.

The last section (§§ 178-184) in this extensive subdivision which we are considering deals with questions of dowry for special classes, namely, (1) for the Nin An-Sal, i. e., the *entu*

or votary of a goddess,⁵⁰ (2) the *Sal zikru* or public woman, (3) the *Nu-Gig* = *ḫadištu*, (4) *Nu-Bar* = *zermašitu*,⁵¹ (5) *šugetu* "concubine" and (6) the *Sal Marduk* or votary of Marduk. In accordance with the line of argument above set forth, I have no hesitation in regarding such paragraphs embodying special legislation as later elements, precisely as in the case of paragraphs dealing with the application of a law to the "plebeian" or to the palace slave. The external form of the paragraphs, particularly that of the first very elaborate and cumbersome one, and upon which most of the others depend is a further proof of the later origin of this section; and the nature of the decisions bears out the conclusions to be drawn from the form. It argues for an advanced state of society that not only the rights of daughters are safeguarded, but that special provisions were made for those towards whom in an earlier stage of society no obligations were felt. The differentiation between a woman in the service of a god and one in the service of a goddess, and between these two classes and the woman in the service of Marduk, as the head of the pantheon all point in the same direction, as does the fact that the dowry is looked upon in these paragraphs as the *right* of the daughter, accorded to her even if she does not marry.

The first two paragraphs (§§ 178-179) deal with certain restrictions in regard to this dowry, formally deeded to the 'votary' or to the 'public' woman. The father may or may not add in the deed the words "to be given to whom she pleases on her death." If the clause is not added, then after the father's death, the brothers may take back real estate given to their sister and offer her in exchange "grain, oil and wool," i. e., merchandise corresponding to the value of her share of the estate. The evident purpose of such a provision was to prevent real estate from passing out of the family. In default of her brothers doing this, she may lease the property, supporting

⁵⁰ There are two classes of such votaries, (1) *Nin-An* (or *Nin-Dingir*)—in one instance *Sal Nin-An* (§110)—who is in the service of a god and therefore a sacred prostitute and (2) *Nin-An Sal* in the service of a goddess and therefore allowed to marry.

⁵¹ The *Nu-Gig* or *ḫadištu* is the one who keeps herself secluded (*Dhorme, Revue d'Assyriologie* XI, p. 106 seq.), more like our conception of a nun; the *Nu-Bar*, or *zermašitu* ("neglecting seed"), is the woman who vows herself to chastity.

herself thereby, and enjoy anything else that her father has given her as long as she lives, but upon her death the heritage of the unmarried woman belongs to her brothers. If the father, however, specifically gives his daughter the right to dispose of her dowry, her brothers have no claim and she may leave her property to whom she pleases. Special cases are then taken (§§ 180-182), (1) of a father dying without giving a dowry to his daughter—a bride or a public woman—in which case she receives as her share of the estate a son's portion but, in accordance with the principle underlying § 178, after her death the share reverts to her brothers, (2) the Nu-Gig (or *kadištu*) and Nu-Bar (or *zemašitu*), dedicated by the father to the service of a god who receives only one-third of a son's portion, likewise reverting to the brothers upon her death, (3) an exception, however, in the case of a votary of the god Marduk, who may dispose of the one-third of a son's portion as she pleases. Presumably the sum went to the church.

Of particular interest are the two last paragraphs (§§ 183-184), giving the decisions, on the basis of the same principle as in §§ 179-180, for the daughter who becomes a concubine, receiving or not receiving her dowry during her father's lifetime. It would seem that according to the older practice, the father was not *obliged* to give his daughter a dowry. The later practice aimed to wipe out all distinctions among the daughters and, accordingly, it is stipulated that if the daughter who becomes a concubine does not receive a dowry, then after the father's death, the brothers must give her one proportionate to the father's estate and provide a husband for her; if she receives her dowry she has no further claim on the estate. Clearly these two paragraphs represent later decisions based upon earlier ones as embodied in the preceding paragraphs.

To sum up, in the subdivision §§ 137-184, the following represent older elements,—137, 138, 142-147, 153, 154, 155, 157, 162, 167(1), 168, 173 and 174; the remainder the later elements, with further subdivisions into such as may be looked upon as older supplemental decisions and such as represent still later decisions or illustrations of applications of older elements or supplemental decisions to specific cases, with some of these additions partaking largely or wholly of an 'academic' character—hypothetical instances, rather than actual occurrences.

XII.

It may not be possible for us ever to be able to trace the process involved in a gradual evolution of the code in detail, but the illustrations adduced will suffice, I trust, to show that it is possible to distinguish within the code between (a) older laws carried over from an early period and (b) additions in the form of new laws based on the same ancient principles, but representing adaptations to more advanced conditions, and (c) judicial decisions, setting forth the legislation for special classes or for special circumstances that actually arose or that might arise. In short, we must look upon the code as we do on the Pentateuchal codes and on the smaller subdivisions to be distinguished within the larger ones of these codes, as the result of additions of all kinds made at various times, with further differentiations within these additions between actually new decisions modifying the former practice, and mere interpretations of the older law at times through a consideration of the various complications that might arise. What I have attempted here is merely a beginning, an indication of the point of view from which the code should be considered in order to penetrate beneath the mere surface indications, and a suggestion of the method to be followed.

The older elements in the code are represented by §§ 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7(1), 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 33, 34, 42, 43, 53, 55, 59, 60, 65, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 113, 117, 119, 121, 122, 124, 127, 128, 129-133A, 137, 138, 142-147, 153-155, 157, 162, 167(1), 168, 173, 174, 185, 186, 190, 191, 195, 196, 197, 200, 209, 210, 218, 219, 226-227, 229, 230, 235, 236, 241, 244, 245, 246, 249, 250, 253, 262(1), 263, 266, 267, 278, 279, 282, i. e., roughly speaking, about one-third of the preserved portion of the code represents earlier elements, while the remainder may with more or less probability be regarded as of later origin, or as decisions and special applications based on the older general laws. Making full allowance for legitimate differences of opinion in regard to some of the paragraphs and for errors in regard to others, enough and more than enough remains, I venture to think, to establish the main thesis for which I am contending, which is probable also on *a priori* grounds, that the code of Hammurapi is the culmination of a long antecedent process of gradual growth, combining, therefore, older with later elements.

Let me, in conclusion, emphasize that the thesis here proposed of differentiating between older and later elements in the code has nothing in common with the theory of a hypothetical *Urgesetz*, as set forth some years ago by the late David Heinrich Müller,⁵² from which both the Hammurapi code and the Pentateuchal codes are derived and of which Müller even wanted to see traces in the Twelve Tables of Roman legislation. The hypothesis has not met with acceptance by scholars, and it rests on what appears to be an erroneous view of the development of ancient law and of legal procedure. Law is steadily progressive; it grows by accretions, representing established practice and decisions rendered as new circumstances arise, and it is of the nature of this process that the old is carried over into the new. An *Urgesetz*, however, from which a later code is compiled assumes a sharp break between the old and the new; it replaces the process of steady unfolding by an artificial device for which, moreover, there is not the slightest evidence. The only aspect of Müller's hypothesis which stands is its starting-point that we must look upon the Hammurapi code as representing a culmination. As such we are, I think, justified in the attempt to separate the old from the new, just as on the other hand the code itself, as I have tried to show, forms the point of departure for further growth in both procedure and decisions; and we must assume this process to have gone on as steadily after the time of Hammurapi as in the period before the great compilation of the old and the new, undertaken at the instance of the wise ruler. The significance of the code lies in this fact, that it marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. In so far as old laws are never entirely abrogated and the underlying principles always maintained, the code no doubt formed a norm and standard for future days as Hammurapi had hoped it would, but in so far as conditions were constantly changing and new situations arose through the endless combinations of the particles in the kaleidoscope of human society and of human relationships, the code was subject, also, to constant modifications.

⁵² *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältniss zur Mosaischen Gesetzgebung sowie zu den xii Tafeln* (Vienna, 1903), p. 210 seq. and 240 seq.

A Conveyance of Land Dated in the Reign of Ellil-bâni.—By
MARY INDA HUSSEY, PH.D., Associate Professor in Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

The tablet here published is a conveyance of land *inter vivos* between one co-owner and the heirs of a deceased(?) co-owner on the one hand, and a purchaser on the other. The seal of one of the co-owners has been run over the entire written surface of the tablet and has left nine impressions on the edges. There is no indication that the seal contained anything more than the name *Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá*.

Ellil-bâni first became known to modern scholarship when V. Scheil published¹ in 1897 the subscription of tablet no. 353 in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople, which reads: *mu ^dEn-lil-ba-ni lugal-e . . . gal(?) gal(?) . . . Nin-IB*. Since the publication in 1906 of the chronological list of kings of the dynasties of Ur and Isin by Prof. Hilprecht,² he has been recognized as the eleventh king of the dynasty of Isin (2187-1962 B. C.),³ who reigned twenty-four years (2032-2008 B. C., according to the above chronology). In *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story*, 1910, p. 38, Prof. Hilprecht says that seven tablets dated in the reign of Ellil-bâni are known to him, none of which are published. The first known royal inscription was published by the late Prof. H. W. Hogg⁴ under the title, "Inscribed Nail of Ellil-bâni." A photograph of the tablet here published was used by Prof. Barton in compiling the table of signs in Vol. XXXI, p. 42 of this Journal. It is on account of its paleographic interest that it is deemed worth while to publish a photograph of the tablet as well as an autograph copy.

¹ *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, Vol. XIX, p. 59.

² *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XX, pt. 1, pp. 39-56b, Pl. 30, XV.

³ See Edward Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d edition, 1909, Vol. I, § 329. See now also Clay's *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, King's *History of Babylon*, and Chiera's *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur*. This article was delivered to the Editors of this Journal in September, 1915.

⁴ *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 1-20.

This tablet was purchased from a dealer, and is preserved in the Harvard Semitic Museum under the number 1421. It is unbaked, light brown in color, and measures 8.7 cm. by 4.9 cm.

TRANSCRIPTION.

- OBV. 1 gan a-ša(g) (?) -sar še
 ša(g) a-ša(g) ^dŠu-gi-an-na
 uš a-ra Ur-^dPa-gibil-sag dumu Lù-^dEn-zu
 a-ša(g) Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá
 (5) ù ibila Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne
 ki Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá
 ù ibila Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne-ta
 1 ^dŠu-mu-ba-li-iš dumu Du(g)-li-[abs]u
 in-ši-in-sa(m)
 (10) sa(m)-ām tū-la-bi-šú
 ½ ma-na 3 gín kù-babbar
 in-ne-en-lá
 u-kur-šú
 1 Lù-dingir-ra
 (15) ù ibila Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne
 a-ša(g)-bi-šú
- REV. inim-nu-um-mal-mal-ne-a
 mu lugal-bi in-pa(d)-eš
 igi Ur-^dPa-gibil-sag dumu [Lù]-^dEn-zu
 igi [. . . .]-dú(g)-^dEn-lil dumu Īr-É-gu-la
 (5) igi Lù-dingir-ra
 igi Lugal-ibila dumu Lù-^dEn-zu
 igi Bá-ša-^dDa-mu dumu Ur-^dEn-lil-lá
 igi Da-nu-me-a dub-sar
 itu Kin-^dInnana
 (10) mu ^dEn-lil-ba-ni lugal-e
 alam kù-gì ^dNin-IB
 mu-un-na-an-dim-dim-a

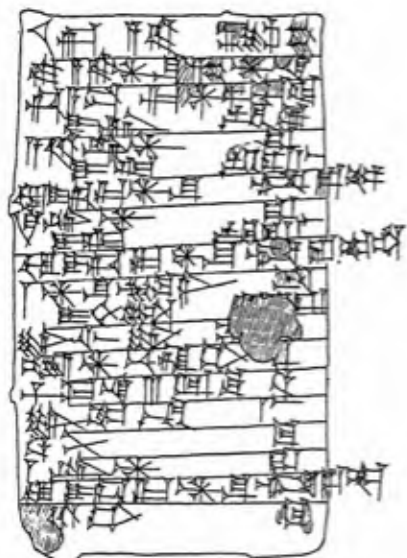
TRANSLATION.

- OBV. 1 gan, a field of (?) (and) barley,
 the lower side (adjoining) the field of Šu-gi-an-na,
 the upper side (adjoining) the lane of Ur-Pa-gibil-sag,
 son of Lù-En-zu;

- The field belonging to Lù-dingir-ra, son of Sag-En-lil-lá,
 (5) and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḫ,
 from Lù-dingir-ra, son of Sag-En-lil-lá,
 and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḫ,
 Šu-mu-ba-li-iṭ, son of Du(g)-li-absu,
 has bought;
 (10) for its price in full $\frac{1}{2}$ mana 3 gin of silver
 he has paid.
 Never
 will Lù-dingir-ra
 (15) and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḫ
 to this field

REV. lay claim.

- By the name of their king they have sworn
 before Ur-Pa-gibil-sag, son of [Lù]-En-zu,
 before [. . . .]-dú(g)-En-lil, son of Ir-É-gu-la,
 (5) before Lù-dingir-ra,
 before Lugal-ibila, son of Lù-En-zu,
 before Bá-ša-Da-mu, son of Ur-En-lil-lá,
 before Da-nu-me-a, scribe.
 The month of Kin-Innana,
 (10) the year that Ellil-ba-ni the king made the golden
 statue of Nin-IB.



OBVERSE



OBVERSE



REVERSE



REVERSE



Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt.—By WILLIAM H. WORRELL, Professor in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

The practice of gazing at smooth surfaces or into clear depths—to produce visions is one of the most ancient and universal which folk-lore has brought to light. It appears to explain a great variety of practices, and to bring them from the cabinet of merely curious superstitions back to the more rational ground of demonstrable though little understood psychic phenomena. The sober monographs of Andrew Lang in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vii, 566) and the Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (iv, 351), his volume on *The Making of Religion*, and his preface to Thomas' *Crystal Gazing*—perhaps the most important single volume on the subject—with Miss Goodrich-Freer's historical sketch in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychic Research* (v, 486f), can be read with profit by any one contemplating the study of magical texts.

From these sources it appears that a certain number of persons—Andrew Lang found many, though the present writer has searched in vain—are able, by gazing at a ball of glass, a polished stone, a glass vessel filled with water, a pool of ink, the surface of standing water out of doors or in a vessel, the large opening of a funnel, a dark picture hanging in the shadow, the palm of the hand, the shining surface of animal viscera, and what not, to perceive visions in the object,¹ or to enter seemingly through it into the vision beyond.²

¹ The sense of penetration seems to be essential. The experiences of the present writer lead him to believe that the element of failure in his own case lies in the inability to create or to maintain the illusion of gazing into a real depth, or through a real vista. The cases cited by Thomas, in which a funnel was used, are instructive in this particular. That the actual shadows on the crystal do play some part, at least at times, in the formation of the picture is shown by the instance cited by Andrew Lang in Thomas' *Crystal Gazing* (xiv), in which the drawing of a curtain produced a change in the vision seen. The large window in the latter disappeared. The Egyptian magician employed by the present writer once refused to sery upon a cloudy day, and attributed his failure on a later occasion to the gradual overcasting of the sky.

² Such an instance is cited by Andrew Lang in *Making of Religion*. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald has kindly called my attention to a similar instance in Seybold's *Geschichte von Sâl und Schumâl* (89 of Arabic text).

This art of "srying," as cultivated in Muslim lands has received frequent incidental treatment. Doutté in his *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* gives specimens and bibliography. For Mesopotamia we have Thompson's report in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* (1906, 84-5). Egypt is well known in this connection through the controversy started by Lane's account in chapter twelve of the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. He at first believed in the reality of what he had seen, later recanted, and finally, as appears from the note of another to his edition of the *Thousand and One Nights* (i, 60), returned to his original view. The literature of discussion regarding the cases of Lane and of Lord Nugent, Lord Lindsay, Kinglake, Miss Martineau, Laborde, North, Butler, and Wolff, may be found in the work of Thomas cited. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life of Islam* (95-97, 126)—a book conspicuous for its method of applying the results of recent investigations of the sort represented by the English Society for Psychic Research—gives a fresh translation of the classic passus in the Prolegomena of *Ibn Haldûn*,³ which one may find in French in the works of Andrew Lang and Thomas referred to. It represents virtually the modern view on the subject. It is superfluous to repeat what has been said in these easily accessible sources, and I omit also the references which they contain to scattered articles and other literature. But I believe that the seven texts which are collected and here presented in translation are sufficiently important to justify their publication, together with the excursions and discussions which they occasion.

The practice described by Lane was, and is still, called in Egypt *dârb âl mândâl*, "drawing the circle." The term would seem to be a general one for magical ceremonies, in which the performer begins by drawing a circle on the ground, within which he sits while invoking the demons. Even in this sense it does not seem to be old. Wellhausen in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (160) mentions such a circle on the authority of Doughty (2, 103), explaining *mândâl* as a Persian word, and remarking that the word and the practice are unknown to Arabian antiquity. It is not found in the old lexical works. The *Muhîf al Muhîf* (257) gives the definition used above, and

³ The Arabic text may be found in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (xix, 221; Beyrût edition of the *Muqaddama* of *Ibn Haldûn*, p. 105; Bûlâq edition, 1320 A. H., p. 101).

adds the curious alternative form *mandab*. The latter suggests at once Abyssinian origin, in favor of which there is some presumption. *Nadaba*, "to compel," might furnish an instrumental nominal form *mandab*, meaning "a device for compelling" spirits. But the word does not occur in any of the Abyssinian magical texts which the present writer has seen.⁴ There is much more in favor of India as the immediate source of the Arab ceremony. *Mandal*, in Sanskrit and some of its relatives, "circle," "disc," might refer to the drawing of the black round spot in the hand. But I doubt it, since the word is not in India applied to the ceremony, I believe; and its reference is quite clearly to the magic circle of whatever application. The ceremony is now found in India in nearly the form described by Lane, even to the use of the *budûh* magic square (Thomas, 51, 128), and the appearance of the sweeper, king and army. The *Fihrist* (of 378 A. H., p. 309) states that the Hindus were accustomed, as we also know, to perform marvels, especially of the sort called in Arabic *at tawahhum*, or tricks of imagination and suggestion, and that some of their books on the subject had been put into Arabic. These statements, while including probably the *māndāl*, are to be taken as referring mostly to other feats of a well known type. See also p. 312, l. 25. The first indisputable mention of the *māndāl* by that name, in any Arabic author, is, I believe, to be found in Ibn Ḥaldūn (c. 808 A. H.), *Prolegomena*, chapter 54 ("Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Impériale," xvii, 177, l. 14; translated in xx, 205; Beyrūt text of 1879, 278; Bûlâq text of 1320 A. H., 313). The *Fihrist* (309) knows similar practices, but not specifically the *māndāl* or its name. It gives (311, l. 12) one realistic description of seeing "in sleep" a "queen" and her "army," and of making speech issue from under a cup. The commentators to the *Qur'ân* (15, 15) also have heard of such practices.

The Egyptians believe that the *māndāl* is accomplished by the aid of the *jinn*. A single figure usually appears, then a large company, and finally their chief (*ra'is*, *mālik*, *sulṭān*), of whom the questions are asked, or a further vision sought. As we shall see below, there are many other types of *māndāl*; and the forerunner, troops and *sulṭān* do not always figure in the directions for performing the feat; but they are nevertheless

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1909, xxiii, 149f.; 1910, xxiv, 59f.; 1914, xxix, 85f.), *Studien zum abessinischen Zaubwesen*, by Worrell; to be referred to as Z1, Z2, Z3.

often mentioned. Apropos of the forerunner: The finding-crystal of Nürnberg described (after Sprenger) by Thomas always revealed at first a man plodding through the streets of the city in search of the lost article or of the thief. Such are the beings called *mulūk* in Spitta's *Contes arabes modernes* (102), a word which the editor wrongly amends to *malā'ike* angels, in spite of its frequent occurrence. Such are the "princes of oil" and "princes of eggs" in the Jewish texts hereafter to be described, and such also the *ra'is* of the present writer's séance. Almost any Arabic book of magic mentions many times over the *mulūk ar rūhānīya* (or *'ulwīya*) and the *a'wān as suflīya*, the spiritual (or supernal) kings and the infernal helpers, or the same in other terms (*Taḍkira* of Al Anṭākī, Cairo, 1324 A. H., p. 83, l. 31). For Abyssinia see Z1, 181, Z2, 78, Z3, index. Cf. the *Fihrist* (309 l. 5 ab. inf.).

The obscure passage in *Sanhedrin* (101a) mentioned by Blau in his *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen* (11) undoubtedly refers to scrying in oil—held in a vessel or in the hand—and scrying with eggs, probably broken into a cup. The passage has been discussed in a very valuable recent treatise of Daiches, entitled *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature* (London, 1913).⁵ Unfortunately the writer has never heard of the modern English experiments in which just such "princes" as he described so largely figure, nor of the *mändäl*. The passage in *Sanhedrin* reads [Daiches]:

One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs, only (one does not ask because?) they lie. One whispers a charm over oil in the vessel and one does not whisper over oil in the hand; therefore one anoints (oneself) with the oil in the hand and one does not anoint (oneself) with the oil in the vessel.

Later editors, according to Daiches, not understanding שָׂרִי "princes," have amended it to שָׂרִי "demons"; but Rašī (11th century) comments properly that "princes of oil" are "princes of the thumb"—meaning the thumb nail. On Ezekiel xxi, 26 Daiches quotes Qimḥī (12-13 centuries):

And all this is the work of divination, and the explanation of קִלְקַל is as that of קִלְקַל לֹא פָנִים קִלְקַל (Qoheleth x, 10a; 'and he do not sharpen the edge'), and that is that they sharpen and polish the surface of the iron of the arrow until it is very bright and the diviners look into it just

⁵I am indebted to Professor Macdonald for calling my attention to this work.

as they look in the thumb of the hand into the nail because of the brightness of the nail, so they look in the sword, and so also in the mirror and so they look in the liver because it has brightness.

It is interesting to note that the King James' Version has quite correctly translated "he made his arrows bright," while the Revised Version, Luther, Siegfried-Kautzsch, Nowack (*Archäologie*), Kennedy, Davidson and Whitehouse (*Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*) have all gone astray with the Septuagint in rendering "to wave."

The practices described in the texts of Hunger, *Becherwahr-sagung bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1903), seem to belong entirely to the systematized divination which we shall agree with Ibn Haldūn in declaring secondary and without the psychic basis of real serying. There are these two stages in geomancy and card laying also. But in the texts of Zimmern (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, 110b, l. 3; 216, l. 44; 218, l. 2) occur, according to Daiches, phrases which point to nail magic and oil magic. *Bēl supur ubāni annie*, "the master of the nail of this finger"—not "der, von dem dieses Nagelzeichen herrührt," as Zimmern translates—refers to the performer of nail magic, not to "princes" seen in the nail. The latter are nowhere mentioned. Again Daiches sees in the phrase (Zimmern 196-197), "The inquiry I dedicate, in his right [hand] and in his left, be correctness," allusion to a medium. Similarly the words "When the omen and the oil are faultless the great gods come near and judge a judgment of justice and righteousness . . . the diviner shall look upon oil and water"; but he fails to see in what manner the great gods "come near." There is not much in these texts that is found in *Sanhedrin* (101a), and nothing at all—except that all of it is serying—peculiar to our present Arabic texts. The late Jewish texts given by Daiches are but slightly related to the Talmudic text referred to, and on the other hand very closely related to our Arabic texts. This latter fact is explained by the observation that the manuscripts in which they occur are all Spanish, Tunisian, Yemenite, otherwise Oriental, or Italian; and that they all date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. But which way was the borrowing? The following are extracts.

The princes of the thumb . . . Take a young lad . . . and prepare the nail of the right thumb until it becomes thin . . . and anoint

his nail and his forehead with pure olive oil, and the lad shall look well at his nail, and thou shalt whisper into his ear this spell . . . I adjure you, princes of the nail . . . that you should bring the king Mimou in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs . . . and they shall slaughter them . . . and cook them . . . and that the queen shall come . . . and they shall put the table in the slaughter house . . . and tell them that they shall eat and drink, (and) they will tell thee all that thou desirest.

The princes of the hand. Take a young lad or a young girl or a pregnant woman and besmear his (or her) hand with black soot from under the sauce pan and then anoint the hand of the mentioned lad with olive oil . . . and then shall the lad look constantly into the hand, and he will tell him the name of his master if he sees anything . . . and if he will see the figure of a man dressed in black the lad shall tell him: "Go and put on white garments and return at once," and when he will return he shall tell him: "Go to thy kingdom and bring hither the king and all the sons (people) of his kingdom," and they will slaughter a lamb and they will eat and drink in the presence of the lad . . ."

Take bdellium and write upon it with olive oil . . . and take a boy seven years old and anoint his hand from the top of the thumb to the end of the finger and put the bdellium into his hand in the anointed place . . .

The magical texts of Abyssinia, which are not treatises like the texts under discussion but rather of the amulet type, contain certain references to scrying in oil and other liquids, in water in a pot and at the edge of the sea (lake or river?), in the yolk (?) of an egg, or in bright objects (obelisk? ring of polished metal?); and they mention also the cross roads, and the use of perfumes. Cf. Z2, p. 73, p. 91:

Defeat the magic which is murmured with salt and with oil, with a lemon and with a ring, with honey water and with beer, with civet and with perfume . . . Defeat what is murmured with an obelisk and with the . . . (quab: yolk?) of an egg, and with (at) the cross roads . . . in a new pot and at the shore of the sea . . . in curdled milk and with linseed . . . fat without water.

The small collection of translated Arabic texts which follow should be of interest to a wide circle of folklorists. The omission of the Arabic originals of such repetitious matter will, I hope, be pardoned readily by the arabists, and by non-arabists for whom also this article is intended. They are preceded by a short account of a séance witnessed by the present writer. The appearance of penny leaflets on the streets of Cairo, designed to make every man his own magician, is only one of the symptoms of the present extraordinary activity of the native press.

Of these six texts I find no mention elsewhere; although their reputed authors are all known to Arabic literature. Ibn Sînâ, like Muḥyî d-Dîn, was capable of writing on "occult" subjects; and Hermes Trismegistos is of course, even more than the others, a convenient peg for any unclaimed writing of this kind. Cf. the *Fihrist* (312 and index). But the texts are all in slovenly Arabic with a decided coloring of Egyptian vernacular, and, at least in their present redaction, doubtless very recent. The following are the sources.

- (I) Record of the present writer's séance.
- (II) Ibn Sînâ: *Šifâ' al-Asqâm fî 'Ulûm al-Hurûf wal-Arqâm*, Cairo, 1328.
- (III) Hirmis as Šahîr al-Failasûf ar Rûhânî al-Kabîr: *Kitâb as-Sirr al-Qâtî'*, Cairo, 1330.
- (IV) Muḥyî d-Dîn ibn al-'Arabî: *Kitâb al-Asrâr al-Ilâhiya fî Fawâ'id aṭ-Ṭibb wal-Ahwâb ar-Rûhâniya*, Qôm aš Šêḥ Salâma.
- (V) Muḥammad at-Tûnisî al-Magrabî: *Kitâb Sirr al-Asrâr*, Cairo (?).
- (VI) Aḥmad al-Jazâ'irî ibn Hamdân: *Al Faiḍ ar-Rabbânî, fî Ilm ar-Rûhânî*, Cairo.
- (VII) Muḥammad ar-Ruhâwî: *Kitâb ad-Lu'lu' al-Manẓûm fî 'Ulûm aṭ Talâsim wan-Nujûm*, Cairo.

(I)

The séance took place in the attic of the school of the Šêḥ as-Šâlih, Cairo, late in March, 1913. The performer was an inconspicuous man, poorly dressed in European coat and vest and oriental *farbûš* and *gâllabiya*. He was secured by my obliging acquaintance Muḥammad Farḥât Šâlih, head master of the school. He appeared to believe thoroughly in his art. At the first appointment he refused to attempt the experiment on the ground that the sky was clouded over. At the second meeting he was reluctant to begin as the air was not clear; and when on this occasion he failed utterly he attributed this to the clouds which had gradually covered the sky. He was a *Rifâ'i*. The boy employed was selected from the crowd in the street by the head master of the school. He was a Sudanese, about seven years old, intelligent and able to read. The usual features were present: The magician squatted with the boy in

front of him, shoeless, upon a mat. He wrote *Qur'ân* verses upon a slip of paper and put it under the boy's cap, after holding it in the smoke of the substances which had been thrown on the charcoal fire in the brazier. The room became full of the fumes of resin and coriander. *Qur'ân* verses—mostly from the *Sûrat al-Jinn*—were many times repeated. He knocked repeatedly on the ground.⁶ He repeated many names of *Jinn* ending in *-â'il*. After the seal had been drawn in the hand of the boy he held it palm downward over the smoke until the ink was dry. Then he poured fresh ink into the middle of it. The boy looked a long time. Smoke was fanned into his face. Questions directed to the boy were interrupted by fanning and mumbling. They ran as follows:

(M) "See the ocean! Do you see a ship?"

(B) "Yes."

After questions about the appearance of the ship:

(B) "I see a man sitting upon a chair."

(M) "Salute him."

(B) "*Salâm 'alêkum!*"

after a pause:

(B) "I see a white appearance."

(M) "Say 'Bring coffee, O king!'"

(M) "Has he drunk?"

(B) "Yes."

Conversation follows between the boy and the captain of the ship (*ra'îs*).⁸

(B) "He does not want anything else."

The boy was asked by the captain to read a paper (Arabic) which I had previously placed in my pocket. A man clad in an overcoat such as I was then wearing went away to find the answer. The result was a complete failure. The boy also described wrongly two persons thought of by myself.

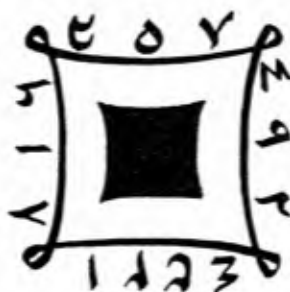
The seal written in the boy's palm was thus:⁹

⁶ A common magical practice. Cf. Z2, 74.

⁷ A phenomenon said by Andrew Lang to occur in the early stages of the condition. It is the veil [*hijâb*] that must first be removed.

⁸ So called (and not "king", or "*sultân*") because the scene is on board a ship.

⁹ The left side has the numerals 816, the top 357, the right 492, which are equivalent to the bottom, middle and top lines of the magic square called *budâh*. Cf. below, note 16.



[II]

Mändül.

And that is that you take some ink and put it in the palm of a boy [or girl] who has not yet reached puberty [*bulûg*], and that you fume it with some strong smelling male incense until that which is in the palm is dry. Then place on the surface of the palm some olive oil. Write the unveiling [*kašf*, not *kaf*, palm] and put it upon the forehead of the gazer [*nâzîr*], male or female. And this is the unveiling:

Allâh!

But we have removed from thee thy veil [*Qur'ân Sûra* 50, 21].

Allâh!

Q. 2. Lh. 6. 6110. ' . ' . h.

Verily descend!

Then after that let the fumes escape, and say to the gazer: "Do you not see your face?" And he will say to you: "Yes." Read after that [appropriate verses from the *Qur'ân*] and cast the blessed spell [*'azzim al-'azîma al-mubâraka*]; and it consists of the following names:

Saqmûš, twice. *Raskalah*, twice. *'askar* [soldiers], twice.

Say: He is *Allâh*, One, *Allâh* is the Eternal [*Sûra* 112, 1].

Verily it is from *Sulaimân* [*Sûra* 27, 30, to be repeated]

as far as his saying: [That ye do not exalt yourselves above me, but come to me] as Muslims, [adding] in haste.

Say it twenty-one times, and a black slave will appear to the gazer. And that is the sign of the response; and if there appear something other than this it is a deception. Read the spell until [someone] appears in the shape of the slave whom we have mentioned. Say to the gazer: "Sweep." Say to

him: "Sprinkle [the ground]." And when he has sprinkled say to him: "Bring the white carpet." And when he has brought it say to him: "Bring the chair." And speak to him in this wise until the *sulṭān* [not *bisātān*] appears; and when he appears then ask him about what is in your mind.

(III)

Section on the knowledge of the *māndūl* and of the summoning of the spiritual servants.

If you wish that, then write the seal about to be mentioned in the palm of anyone you wish, and cast upon it this spell; and it is:

In the name of *Allāh* the Compassionate *Rahmān*!
 In the name of *Allāh* the Ingatherer!
 The Doer of what He wills!
 By whose power the circling constellations turn,
 And by whose light the flaming fires do burn!
 The First before everything,
 The Last after everything,
 Clear above everything,
 Hidden below everything!
 There is no god except Him,
 To Him is the issue!
 In His hand the spirits He seizes,
 Forth He sends the breezes!
 I adjure you, ye benign [*rūḥāniya*] spirits, kings subservient to the seven constellations:
 Answer, by Him who created you from the fire of His throne and made you obedient to His names,
 Having authority over what He wills, and as He wills, by His permission and His wish!
 I adjure you, servants of these names, that ye come and appear at this my séance [*majlis*] so that the gazer may see you with his eye and address you with his tongue!
al-Wahā! [speed] twice.
al-'Ajal! [haste] twice.
as-Sā'a! [at once] twice.
Allāh bless you!

And place in the middle of the seal some ink and olive oil. You will see what you have been thinking about. But *Allāh* knows best. And this is the blessed seal:



[The circle in the center represents the ink-mirror. Beginning at the top we read: "His word is the truth and to Him, is the kingdom (*Sûra* 6, 73)."] The second quadrilateral is composed of the names of the four angels *Mikâ'il*, *Asrâfil*, *Izrâ'il*, *Jabrîl*.]

(IV^a)

Description of the *mândâl* of the [spirit] *Mahdiyâ'il*.

If you wish that, then write this seal in the palm of a boy who has not yet reached maturity, whose constellation [*najm*] is airy [*hawâ'i*].¹⁰ And write the seal and enchant with this spell:

Tûš! twice. *Fayûš!* twice. *Tanšal!* twice. *Kamšal!* twice. Answer, *Mahdiyâ'il*, and give order for the appearance [*tašwîr*] of the *Jânn*, that they may be present at my

¹⁰ This is explained in the third of our texts as follows. The qualities of the planets are:

Saturn, cold and dry.	Venus, cold and wet.	Mars, hot and very dry.
Sun, hot and dry.	Moon, cold and wet.	Mercury, mixed.
Jupiter, hot and wet.		

The qualities of the constellations are:

Aries	+ ascending	Mars	is	Fiery
Taurus		Venus		Earthy
Gemini		Mercury		Airy
Cancer		Moon		Watery
Leo		Sun		Fiery
Virgo		Mercury		Earthy
Libra		Venus		Airy
Scorpio		Mars		Watery
Sagittarius		Jupiter		Fiery
Capricornus		Saturn		Earthy
Aquarius		Mercury		Airy
Pisces		Jupiter		Watery

māndāl, and may remove the veil between themselves and him who gazes at them, so that he may see them with his eye and address them with his tongue, and may question them about what he wishes.

And ye owe to me a thing that I need, and I owe to you the honors.

Verily it is from *Sulaimān*, and verily it is [headed with the words:] In the name of *Allāh*, the Compassionate *Rahmān*. [And it reads:] That ye do not exalt yourselves above me, but come to me as Muslims [*Sūra* 27, 30].

And fume him with male incense and coriander.



[The quadrilateral is composed of four meaningless magical names. In the center is written: "Descend, *Mahdiyā'il*!"]

(IV^b)

A *māndāl* true and tried.

Place [misprint] of good olive oil in a cup [*finjān*] and write upon the forehead of a youth who has not yet reached maturity:

Verily thou wert heedless of this, but we have removed from thee thy veil, and thy sight this day is sharp [*Sūra* 50, 21].¹¹

Then recite this spell while the perfume is being evolved, you being pure of body and raiment and the gazer being thus pure of body and raiment. And command him to gaze into the cup while you are reciting the spell. And you are to be in a place empty of [spiritual] inhabitants, and the perfume pungent. And this is the spell:

¹¹ Cf. traces of this in Z2, 85, n. 5, at that time by me wholly misunderstood.

Taqûl! Taqfûl! Taqfûl! Marqûl! Marqûl! Âh! Âh!
Âh! Âh!

*Şarîlîb! Baqr! Ahyâ! Ahyâ!*¹²

Answer, ye benign kings, and appear in this my *mândâl*,
 and pierce the veil between yourselves and him, that
 he may gaze upon you with his eye and address you
 with his tongue.

By the truth of *Ahyâ şar ahyâ adônâi aşbâ'ût âl şaddâi*!¹³
 And it is a mighty oath if ye knew it [*Sûra* 56, 75].

al-'Ajal! twice. *al-Wahâ!* twice. *as-Sâ'a!* twice.

And if he appears, seek of him what you wish. And as for his
 dismissal,¹⁴ say:

Get you hence in peace, light [of foot] and heavy [of foot],
 and strive [not with me but rather] with your helpers
 [*mawâlikum*, not *amwâlkum*] and one another!
 [That] is best for you if ye are wise [*Sûra* 2, 180].

(V)

Chapter of the departure of the [spiritual] inhabitants
 ['*ummâr*] for the sake of the *mândâl* and other [ceremonies].¹⁵

Read this [ceremony of] departure together with the
 [*Sûrat al*] *Fâtîha* and the *Basmala* [in the name of *Allâh* the
 Compassionate *Rahmân*], and at the end [say]:

I adjure thee, *jinnî*, and [ye] inhabitants who are in this
 place, that ye depart, and go away from this place, ye
 and your brothers and your old ones and your young
 ones and your wives. And let there be no mischief
 [*fasâd*], neither in my [magical] practice, nor in my
 writing, nor in my reading, nor in my circles [*dawâ'ir*].

By the king *Târaş* your judge! [repeat] twice.

And by *Taniţa!* twice.

¹² Hebrew: אהיה [אשר] אהיה "I am [that] I am." Cf. ZI, 171, and Goldziher in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (xxi, 244, on xx, 412).

¹³ Hebrew: אהיה אשר אהיה. אני צבאות. אל שרי "I am that I am, Lord of Hosts, Almighty God."

¹⁴ If anything more than politeness prompted the dismissal formula it must have been the experience that sudden waking of the subject was injurious. It is usual to count ten when waking a hypnotic.

¹⁵ As explained in the seventh text, the local *jinn* must be sent away before the *jinn* of the *mândâl* can appear and act, that the performer may suffer no harm. No doubt the magic circle was originally intended to afford this protection.

Mazlag! twice. *Mâkar!* twice.

So that ye may be present, the kings and their helpers, and ye may help me in the execution of my wish, without harm and without mischief.

And by *Târâs!* twice. *Hâras!* twice. *Marîš barîš!* twice. *Rûš!* twice. *Laṭmaš!* *Baṭaš!*

And by the Compassionate! *ar-Raḥmân!* *al-Jalîl!*
Lord of the great name!

The earth trembles at you[r presence], and the winds become weak at you[r presence], and the valleys vomit at you[r presence]; but the mighty names of *Allâh* encompass you, and the heavens rain fire above you, and evil.

If ye delay from departing from this place, ye and your helpers, and your old ones and your young ones, and your wives, [I adjure you] that I may accomplish my wish, and ye may return in safety [afterwards]!

Depart in peace! *Bâḥ!*

By the power of His might! And to Him is power!
al-Wahâ'! twice. *al-'Ajal!* twice. *as-Sâ'a!*

Then read the *Fātiḥa* [opening *sûra*] of the Book seven times.

[The remainder is here given in synopsis only.]

If you wish "to open the *mändâl*" you are to write the "noble amulet," the well-known magic-square called *Budûḥ*,¹⁶ as follows:

و	ط	ب
ع	س	ز
ح	ا	ي

in the right hand of the subject, after the departure of the spiritual inhabitants of the place; then write *Sûra* 50, 21 on his forehead and upon a paper to be bound upon his forehead. This is followed by magical words and challenges of the sort already mentioned and by passages from the *Qur'ân*, including many of a general character. The *jinn* are summoned from

¹⁶ See Macdonald's article, *Budûḥ*, in the new *Encyclopædia of Islâm* and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chapter xii.

the four cardinal points and from the regions of cold and heat, with their wives and families and companions of all ages. The serying is done in a cup of oil, on the surface of which is a little ink. The seryer is to gaze continuously "until he says to you: 'A phantom [*ḥayāl*] has appeared in the cup.' " The image is saluted. The seryer is directed to command the phantom to sweep, sprinkle the ground, place a chair, bring sheep and slaughter them, and bring food. If such appear as have been thought of [soldiers], then their *sulṭān* is to be called. When he has come you bid him sit, and eat, and drink [water], and drink coffee and smoke. Then you are to ask your questions, and you will get a reply, whether in regard to a thief, or one imprisoned, or one bewitched, or luck, or what is distant. After your wish has been obtained, and not before, you are to read the formula of departure, taking care not to be heedless,¹⁵ thus:

Depart! Peace upon you! Bless you! By *Baḥ* . . .
I have accomplished my desire, so begone in peace!
Amen!

(VI)

Chapter of the spiritual [*naḥsī*] *māndāl*.

Without privacy [*ḥalwa*] take a new mirror and write upon its surface the seal of the unveiling. And that is [to be on a] Monday, and you [are to be] pure of raiment and body. And you perform [*tataraiyid*] on that day without fasting. But if it is with fasting it is all the better. And you vaporize the perfume—and it is coriander and incense—and strengthen your spirit and your mind, and you gaze [at the inscribed surface of the mirror, and after a little you will perceive that] a large hole has opened in the mirror. You will see an individual, moving about in accordance with [*yaṣṭaḥ* 'ala] your spell. And cause him to hear the spell three times. And he will say to you: "*as-Salām 'alêk!*" And say to him: "*Wa 'alêk as-salām! wa minak as-salām! Wa fik as-salām!*" Then say to him: "Take upon yourself my service and the execution of my desire, and what I command you to do. Bring me the kings." The servants [*ḥuddām*] will come to you. Then ask them about what you wish. And this is the spell. You say:

I adjure you by obedience, obedience! [*ṭai'*].

Fazûk. Qâṭ! Qatûf! Wadûd! Šakûr! Gafûr! [loving, grateful, forgiving].

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Barûh! 'Aqâfal! Hidûs! Hamdûš! three times.

Descend tribes of the benign spirits.

Descend O *Ahmar!* [red].¹⁷

Descend O *Samhâr!*

Descend and remove the veil between me and you, so that

I may see you with my eye and address you with my tongue, concerning what I desire from you!

Verily thou wert heedless of this [but we have removed from thee thy veil Read from this, *Sûra* 50, 21] as far as [the word] sharp.

al-Wahâ'! al-'Ajal! as-Sâ'a!

(VII)

This text of 105 lines, badly printed from broken type and almost illegible, contains little that is of interest in the natural substratum of scrying, but elaborates the demonology and other details in the manner of one who has merely learned from others, and not experienced in person. It belongs with Hunger's Babylonian texts. A synopsis will suffice:

The writer states that most adepts do not know that the companions [of the *sultân*] have a king, and the spiritual inhabitants of the place of performance, a king and a governor. It is of first importance to know about these, their names, appearance and powers; and you must not neglect to drive away the spiritual inhabitants before attempting to perform this or any other ceremony. Most people fail by reason of this. One must know the inauspicious times, and be pure and pious when one is to function. For instance, one should not talk with a fair woman or eat much, especially of strong-smelling food, but vegetables only should be eaten. As to the kings and their names and qualities: *Taqtaqûš*, *Maharqûš*, *Talûš*, and *Târaš* are brothers.¹⁸ The first two preside over the unveiling and revealing of the *mândûls*, through their power over the earthly, supernal and airy kings of the *jinn* and *jânn*. The third has permanent authority over the *mündâl*, not affected by times

¹⁷ Cf. Lane, op. cit.

¹⁸ *Târaš* (*Tarš*) is mentioned several times in the seventh, and twice in the fifth text. Both *Tarš* and *al-Ahmar* are found in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii. In such names the endings -ûš and -aş often appear, as in the Abyssinian texts, where however those in -ôs and -is greatly pre-

and seasons. The fourth is governor of the spiritual inhabitants. Besides these is *Dibāj ibn 'Amr*, governor of the companions. Another well-known spirit is *Abu Šarāmīṭ*, the "Father of Rags" or "Father of Strumpets." The first of these may be recognized by clothing which is "dark blue of a reddish shade," the second by the fact that his clothing is entirely white, the fourth by his garment, white, having a tail bordered with tassels,¹⁹ the fifth by his white clothes, thin like those of strumpets. One can make them appear by calling them by name and commanding them. One should always deal directly with the chiefs. We are told little of the ceremonies to be employed. The usual, and some unusual, passages from the *Qur'ān* are cited. As subject one may employ a perfect woman of any age, or a man. In the right hand of the latter or the left hand of the former you are to place a "*hindīya*" (plane or concave polished steel mirror), or a glass mirror, if you can find one.

¹⁹ In another place he is said to have appeared in a black garment with three spots between the shoulders.

On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I am sure that the idea of a complete catalog or clearing-house of story motifs has flitted across the mind of almost every student of Hindu fiction, at some time or another while engaged in this fascinating pursuit. In India, even more than in other countries, entire stories, or particular story traits go on repeating themselves. To begin with, many legends of the ancient Vedic texts reappear, usually much elaborated, in Epic, in Drama, and in story-books. A new and more sweeping current of fiction sets in with the didactic and parabolic fables and stories of the Pañcatantra-Jātaka type, the latter being reinforced by the stories of Buddhaghōṣa's Commentary on the Dhammapada, and the Avadānas (Divyāvadāna, Avadānaṣataka, Avadānakalpalatā, and Chinese Avadānas). Parallel with these run the Jains' performances of the type of Devendra's stories and the commentators (cūrṇi and ṭīkā) to the Avagyaṇa literature.¹ In between come the individualist novelists who handle stories in the most ornate style of rhetoric (kāvyā): Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, and Subandhu. Then sets in the purer, more secular fiction (which, however, never quite abandons the moralities) of the Br̥hat-Kathā books and its congeners and successors. The classical representatives of this class are the three renditions of the Br̥hat-Kathā, namely Kathāsaritsāgara, Br̥hatkathāmañjarī, and Br̥hatkathāḥlokaśaṃgraha; the various recensions of the Vetālapañcaviṃcati²; of the Vikrama-Carita³; and of the Çukasaptati. And they, in turn, are followed as regards type by the well-nigh infinite line of Caritas (or Caritras) or Prabandhas which begin with Brahmanical writers, and swell into a veritable ocean of literary procreation thru the activity of the prolific Jains.

¹ Cf. Leumann, *Transactions of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 125; *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. X, Part 2; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 50 ff.

² Cf. Bettei, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vii. 83 ff.; viii. 187 ff.; Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, pp. 10 ff.

³ See Professor Edgerton's prospective critical edition with translation.

The Caritas or Prabandhas⁴ of the Jains are primarily quasi-chronicles which are invariably based upon the lives of real historical persons, mostly Jain saints, and emperors (cakravartins) and kings who were, or are said to have been votaries of the Jinistic faith. There is no question that they state some events that actually happened. But their critical habits are of the worst, if indeed we may speak of critical habits in the case of writings in which the most fantastic fairy-tale is put on the same plane with a chronicle that might perchance be true. The Caritas illustrate conspicuously the Hindu inability to discriminate between fact and fancy. They weave into their narrative once more the whole apparatus of Hindu fiction: fairy-tales, apologs, riddles, acrostics, tricks, and pranks. When we consider that the *Trisaṣṭicalākā-puruṣa Carita*, 'Lives of the sixty-three divine personages,' written by the celebrated monk Hemacandra, contains 36,000 ślokas, or stanzas of 32 syllables, we may obtain an idea of the extent of this type of literature. Some of the remaining more accessible Carita or Prabandha texts, such as Hemacandra's *Sthavirāvalī Carita* (*Pañcīṣṭaparvan*), Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,⁵ Candraprabhasūri's *Prabhāvaka Carita*,⁶ or Bhavadevasūri's *Pārṇvanātha Carita*⁷ average about 7,000 ślokas each. A rough list of a large number of such texts may be easily compiled from the Index (pp. 519 ff.) in Guerinet's *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*. The number and total extent of the Jain Caritas is quite indeterminable; they continue into modern times. The older of them at least should be exploited for their contributions to fiction which are as important as they are extensive.

Not very different and scarcely less numerous are the Jain writings called *Kathā* (Kahā), or *Kathānaka*. They seem to differ from the Caritas in that they moralize more directly and obviously (*dhammakahā*), but they also are intimately connected with the traditional names of saints, emperors and kings. They are written in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, or both. Perhaps the

⁴ Cf. Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, pp. 6 ff.; Tawney, in his *Translation of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 6.

⁵ Edited by Rāmachandra Dēvanātha, Bombay, 1888; translated by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.

⁶ Edited by Hirananda M. Sharmā, Bombay, 1909.

⁷ Edited by the Pandits Hargovinddas and Bechardas, Benares, 1912 (Veer-Era 2438).

most familiar of these are the Kathākoṣa in two versions,⁸ and the Prākṛit Samaraicca Kahā (Samarāditya Kathā)⁹ with its Sanskrit epitome, the Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa¹⁰ by Pradyumna-sūri. Similar works are Kathārṇava,¹¹ Kathāprakāṣa,¹² Kathā-ratnākara,¹³ the numerous Kathānakas, and Nayādharmakahās.¹⁴

Hindu fiction has propagated itself into modern times in the shape of folklore. Within the last forty years Europeans and natives have vied with one another in gathering up stories that go by word of mouth, and yet more will certainly be collected in the future through the length and breadth of India. My pupil, Mr. W. N. Brown, has gathered forty or more such collections in English, and he will in due time publish as complete a bibliography as possible of these interesting books.¹⁵ Quite certainly these books echo largely the old stories of the various Hindu classical literatures. Whether they contain material of independent sort, that is to say, old original stories which propagated themselves orally without ever having been written down in any Hindu language, is very doubtful. But they will be found to figure largely and stimulatingly in connection with almost every type of story or motif of the classical literatures, as may be seen from my published paper¹⁶ 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction,' as well as from the subjoined elaboration of the 'Laugh and Cry Motif in Hindu Fiction.' Secondary treatment of Hindu fiction is, moreover, not restricted to the immense continent of India, but has passed largely, tho not entirely, under the Buddhist propaganda, to the greater part of Central and Eastern Asia, so that Hindu narrative is almost synonymous with Asiatic narrative: Tibetan, Mongolian, Farther

⁸ Cf. Leumann's note to Tawney's *Translation*, p. 240.

⁹ Edited by H. Jacobi, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1908 ff.

¹⁰ Edited by H. Jacobi, Ahmedabad, 1906.

¹¹ See *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, ix. 189.

¹² See Tawney's *Translation of the Kathākoṣa*, pp. 50, 164, notes.

¹³ See Weber, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 1104 ff. Here occur the names of Vikrama, Bhoja, Hemacandra, Çrenika, etc.

¹⁴ See Charpentier, *Paccakabuddhageschichten*, pp. vii and 46.

¹⁵ Both Mr. Brown, Fellow in Sanskrit at the Johns Hopkins University; and Dr. E. W. Burlingame, Johnston Scholar at the same institution, have aided me both with materials and advice in the production of this essay. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge gratefully this obligation.

¹⁶ *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 349 ff.

Indian, Chinese, and so on. And I am leaving out of account, as no longer directly concerning India or quasi-India, the well-known fact, equally important, but in another way, that the Hindu story collections and individual stories have passed as loans into Western Asia and Europe, as Benfey and his collaborators and successors up to Hertel have shown.

The more significant or salient traits of these stories—motifs as we may call them—are distributed or rearranged anew in every time and clime of India. Everywhere each narrator and recorder takes up, as it were, the whole chain of these motifs, which we may liken to a chain of beads. He tears it apart, so that the beads scatter in every direction, and then he strings them up in a new arrangement. Thus any motif may turn up at any time, in any place, and practically in any connection in Hindu fiction and its tributaries. The task of controlling this great mass of individual traits is one of the prime necessities of this study. I am thinking that the day has come for a systematic clearing-house, if possible, instituted under academic control and subsidized by one or more learned bodies.

I wish here to dwell upon one of the less obvious phases of this study, namely, the different way in which one and the same psychic motif is treated in narration. A given, statable sentiment, or conceit, or experience, or trait of human nature is woven into story, and illustrated in totally different ways. The persons, the things, the happenings, in fact all the real properties of the story differ entirely; yet the mental elements, the logic, the wit, the human experience, or the moral remain precisely the same.

GREY HAIR MOTIF

Let me illustrate, first, by a negative, namely an invariable psychic motif—the grey hair motif.¹⁷ Time and again the first

¹⁷ See Jātakas 9, 411, and 541; Kathāsarit-sāgara 10. 216; 103. 223; Kathākoṣa (Tawney's Translation), pp. 125, 146; Paṇḍitaparvan 1. 95. See Morris, JPTS. 1885, p. 62; Jacobi in the introduction to his edition of the Paṇḍitaparvan, p. 14, note 2; Hertel, in his translation of the same work, p. 223; Tawney in his translation of Kathāsarit-sāgara, vol. ii, p. 628 (ad p. 67); Anderson's note to his Pāli Reader, p. 121. Especially Nimi-Jātaka (541), a kind of Divina Commedia in which King Nimi is shown both hell and heaven, pivots about the grey hair motif. Cf. also F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 247.

appearance of a grey hair suggests to the Hindu the impermanence of life, and the dread of the evolutionary *karma* with its chain of possible punishments, and degradations in the toils of transmigration. The grey hair is expressly stated to be the messenger of religion or of God, or of Yama (Pluto). The barber discovers it, or, more often, the queen when she combs, or (sit venia verbo) when she intimately picks certain small insects from the head of the king. 'Old age, the harbinger of world-alooof meditation, reaches the root of the ear,' meaning the whitening hairs on the temple. Old age whispers at the root of the ear, 'Since this body is perishable, why do you still remain in your house?' (Kathās. 52. 385). The psyche of the grey hair is memento mori. In religious India which does not curse God, but considers the laws of the universe and human existence as beyond and out of the control of God, this means, moreover, memento bene mori, to die to some purpose, to advance in the scale of beings, or to reach final emancipation from the saṃsāra, the hateful round of sentient being with all its ills in the present and fear of more ills in the future. This story trait never varies a hair's breadth, being almost as consistent as a mathematical formula which may be involved with any number of other factors, but emerges unchanged in the final result.

CAVE CALL MOTIF

The following illustrates exactly the opposite conditions: a certain psychic motif is both expressed differently and employed variously. In the *Pañcatantra*¹⁸ a jackal returning to his cave notices a lion's track leading into the cave, but not returning. Afraid that the lion is within, he shouts, 'Ho, ho, cave!' and, when he gets no answer, he continues, 'Don't you know, O cave, that we have agreed that I must call you when I come from abroad, and that you, in turn, must invite me!' The lion within reflects: 'Surely this cave always does call him when he comes, but to-day it is silent from fear of me; I will therefore call him, that I may make my dinner off him.' Then he roars and the jackal escapes. The inimitable *Vānarinda-Jātaka* (57) tells

¹⁸ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 382; Pūrṇabhadra 3. 15; Fritze, *Der Pañcatantra*, p. 280; Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 138.

of a monkey who lives on the banks of a river, and is in the habit of foraging on an island in the middle of the river. This island he reaches by first jumping on a large rock between the bank and the island. Now a crocodile one evening lies stretched in ambush flat upon this rock, awaiting the monkey's return from the island. The monkey (Bodhisat), however, notices that the stone looms larger than usual, whereas the river's water is no lower than usual. He calls the stone three times (bho pasāṇa), and when there is no answer, he exclaims, 'Why, O rock, do you not answer to-day?' The crocodile, thinking that the stone must be in the habit of conversing with the monkey, finally asks him, 'What is it, Mr. Monkey?' and is discovered. The motif reappears frequently, with changes, in folk-lore.¹⁹

Closely related is an anecdote in Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 61: Mahadeo (Mahādeva) attempts to catch a jackal by assuming the form of a corpse. But the jackal suspects the corpse, and asks him to break wind, as is the habit of corpses. Mahadeo falls into the trap, complies, and the deceit is revealed.

This again is varied in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxix, p. 400: A farmer desires to kill a jackal, goes into the jungle and pretends to be dead. By and by the jackal comes along and begins to sniff the corpse. But he is in doubt about it, and says to himself, 'I wonder if this is really a corpse.' Then he says a little louder, 'If he is really dead he will shake his leg, if he isn't he won't.' The farmer falls into the trap, shakes his leg, on which the jackal calls, 'Sold again,' and bolts off.

It is difficult even to put a label on this motif: 'Discovering the presence of an enemy by making him do something which either he or his environment is alleged to be in the habit of doing,' or the like. It is best, perhaps, to label this motif conventionally as 'Cave-call.'

¹⁹ Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 246; Rouse, *The Talking Thrush*, p. 207; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 145; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 283. Cf. *Ind. Antiquary*, iii. 10; x. 369. The story is handled quite differently in H. Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, i. 380: The crocodile, wishing to eat the jackal, persuaded the crab to cover him over with Muruta flowers, as though dead, and to summon the jackal to drink water. When the jackal saw the crocodile he said, 'In our country, indeed, dead crocodiles wag their tails. This crocodile, why doesn't he wag his tail? Maybe he isn't dead.' Then that crocodile, which remained as though dead, wagged his tail.

TORTOISE ON STICK

In *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeṣa*, *Jātakas*, etc.,²⁰ there is the fable of the tortoise carried out of danger by two flamingoes who each take a stick by its end, the tortoise holding on to the stick by its mouth. The flamingoes warn the tortoise that he must not speak during the flight. But the shepherds of the fields, beholding the miraculous flight, run after, and suggest that if the tortoise should tumble down what a fine barbecue he would furnish on the banks of a lake, and what good eating he would be. The tortoise, finally enraged, exclaims, 'You shall eat dirt (literally ashes),' tumbles down, and meets his fate. In the *Bharaṭakadvātriṅgikā*, 'Stories of the 32 mendicant Monks,'²¹ the garden of a mendicant monk is visited nightly by the heavenly 'wish-cow' (*kāmadhuk*) to browse therein. One night, just as the cow is about to return to heaven, a mendicant takes hold of her tail, reaches heaven, there feeds on delicious cakes and other dainties, and returns by the same conveyance. The other mendicants, craving the same delights, are advised by him to come along, one taking hold of his foot, the second one of the foot of the first, and so on. The wish-cow, nothing daunted, ascends with its, literally speaking, caudal appendage. In mid-air the last passenger becomes rather sceptical, and asks the first how large were the cakes in heaven. The uppermost monk lets go of the cow's tail and shows him with both hands: 'See, they were so big,' and they all tumble to the ground. A similar story, *Kathās*. 65. 177, substitutes the bull of *Īśa* for the wish-cow. This is followed by another parallel with the same motif, *Kathās*. 65. 200 ff., and Tawney in a note to his translation, vol. ii, p. 112, cites European parallels.²² I am at a loss how to name this motif which is so clearly unitarian despite its many mutations. It would seem best to establish the conventional title 'Tortoise on stick.'

²⁰ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 239; Dubois, *Pañcatantra*, p. 109 ff.; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 245; Siamese Paksi Pakaranam in Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 348, 353; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues*, i. 404; ii. 340, 430; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales*, i. 234.

²¹ Weber, *Indische Streifen*, i. 248; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, iii. 207; W. McCulloch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 143.

²² See also the related touch about the carpenter who holds an axe in his mouth while crossing a river, but lets it drop in order to answer a question, Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 32. In the same collection, p. 117, the

BRAHMAN CHEATED OUT OF HIS GOAT BY THREE
CONSPIRING ROGUES

Benfey's almost incredible learning²³ has unearthed the numerous variations on the trick played by three rogues on a Brahman who is carrying a sacrifice goat, in order that they may roast the goat and eat it. The three rogues place themselves at various points some distance apart on the Brahman's road. The first one says: 'Brahman, why are you carrying on your shoulder a dog (unclean animal) ?' The Brahman ignores the insinuation. When the second rogue addresses him in like fashion, he takes down the goat, inspects it, sees that it is a perfectly good goat, and proceeds on his journey. Accosted in the same fashion by the third rogue he abandons the goat, takes a bath, and returns home. The three rogues gleefully consume the goat.²⁴ The same motif is worked over in an ironic anecdote which was inaccessible to Benfey in his day, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 136: There was a physician, Līlā by name, very skilful in healing others. Some rogues conspired together, and formed themselves into separate couples, and the first couple said to him on the road to the market, 'Why are you in such feeble bodily health to-day?' The second couple addressed the same question to him on the steps of the temple of Muñjasvāmin, and the third couple under the arch of the doorway, etc. Owing to the shock to his system, he immediately con-

geese of Uttarakurudvīpa, carrying rice in their bills, cannot refrain from answering the cackle of the geese of Rājagṛha, and drop some of their rice. A touch of the present motif also in Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 64; O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Tibet*, p. 3; and in F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 289.

²³ *Pañcatantra*, i. 355.

²⁴ A touch of the same story survives in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, p. 283: A foolish boy is sent by his wise brother to buy a bullock, but, as he cannot find one, he buys a buffalo instead. As he was passing thru a certain village some fellows cried out: 'Hi! sir, where did you bring that fighting ram from?' As they all averred that the bullock was a fighting ram, he left it with them, so as not to anger his brother. See also Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, iii. 200: A poor man's three enemies trick him into selling them a bull at a goat's price by this same means. And, G. R. Subramiah Pantulu, *Folk-Tales of the Telugus*, p. 61: Four Čūdras persuade a Brahmin that four of five goats which he is leading are dogs, and induce him to tie them to a tree for fear of the danger of letting the wild animals loose.

tracted a mahendra fever, and died on the thirteenth day.²⁵ Here again it is difficult to find a terse title which either describes the motif, or includes its many variant treatments (Benfey). A brief, entirely conventional title would be, 'Brahmin and goat.' I would repeat that these illustrations show us the motif as a sort of independent entity or mental pith which is surrounded in each case by totally different real properties that do not alter the real sense in the least.

COUNT NOT YOUR CHICKENS BEFORE THEY ARE HATCHED

Rather more easy to group and to label are those story traits which embody the more important universal ideas which are usually stated in proverbs. The idea of, 'Count not your chickens before they are hatched,'²⁶ occurs all over the world—from the story of the Brahman in the potter's shop in *Hitopadeśa* 4. 8 to Lafontaine's maiden Perrette. Such longer stories are more easily confronted and compared, but they also need to be more definitely located and tabulated, somewhat in the manner of an article in an Encyclopedia, subject to additions and critical readjustments. Thus I find no less than nine Hindu folk-lore versions of this motif all the way from Ceylon and Farther India to Tibet.²⁷ This concerns both the topography and the form of the story, illustrating its persistence and its mutability. Scarcely any two are quite alike, or are applied in the same way. Thus, in Swynnerton's report, a sort of village oaf, Lall by name, is hired by a soldier for three halfpence to carry an earthen-ware jar full of liquid butter: 'How

²⁵ My former pupil, Dr. A. L. T. Starek, points out the same motif in Fritz Reuter's 'De Ganshandel,' § 34^b, in 'Läuschen un Rimels,' Erster Theil, Band i, Seite 276 (*Sämmtliche Werke. Volksausgabe.* Wismar, 1898).

²⁶ *Hitopadeśa*, 4. 8; see Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 499 ff.; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, iv. 145 ff.; *Selected Essays*, i. 500-576; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 230.

²⁷ See Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, pp. 182 ff.; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, pp. 31 ff.; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 31 ff.; Fleeson, *Laos, Folk Tales of Farther India*, p. 83; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 68; Subramiah Pantalu, *Folk Tales of the Telegus*, p. 48; Bodding, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 140; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 304. There is also a muddled form with forced moral in Dhammapada Commentary, Book iii, story 4 (translated by Burlingame, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XLV, p. 533). A curious echo of the story also in Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 179.

lucky am I,' says Lall to himself. 'This fellow is going to give me three ha'pence, and what shall I do with it? I know. I'll go into the market, and buy a hen with it, and the hen will lay eggs, and I shall have a fine brood of chickens. And I'll sell them all for what they will fetch, and when I have sold them I'll buy a sheep. After a bit the sheep will have young ones, and when I have sold them I'll buy a cow. And when my cow has young ones I'll buy a milch buffalo; and when my milch buffalo has young ones, I'll sell her and buy a mare to ride on. And when I am riding my mare the people will all stare at me, and say "O Lall, Lall!", and the girls will nudge each other and say, "Look at Lall on his beautiful mare!" And I shall not be long in making a match with some fine girl with a pot of money; and I'll get married, and I shall have four or five nice little children. And when my children look up to me and cry, "Papa, papa!" I'll say to one, "O you little dear," and to another, "O you little darling!" And with my hand I'll pat them on the head, one by one, just like this.' Suiting his action to the word, Lall lowers his hand, and makes several passes in the air as if patting his children's heads; down falls the unlucky jar, breaks into a thousand pieces, and all the precious butter runs about the street.

HASTY INGRATITUDE, OR, STRIKE BUT HEAR

All the stories of the type, 'Count not your chickens before they are hatched, no matter how different the materials, preserve thruout a sort of structural parallelism which shows that not only the moral, but also the gist of the story is the same. There is another treatment of a given psychic motif in which we feel sure that the stories are different in structure, real properties, in everything but moral. The idea is so human and important as to excite the parabolic instinct to express itself quite differently at different times and in different places. We may illustrate this by the proverbial motif, 'Hasty Ingratitude,' or 'Strike but hear.'²⁸ The most familiar Hindu embodiment of

²⁸ Benfey *Pañcatantra*, i. 479; Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 746; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 33, 106; Chavannes, *Transactions of the XIVth International Oriental Congress*, vol. i, p. 123; *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. ii, p. 300; Siamese *Prakaranam* in Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 350; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 162. One of the tales in 'The Four Panditayas,' translated by Pandit Nāṭheśa Śāstrī, published at Madras, 1888, as, 'The King and his four Ministers.' An old Indian

this idea is based upon the congenital enmity between the mongoose and the snake. A Brahman, going upon a journey, leaves his infant son in charge of a mongoose. A snake about to attack the child is killed by the mongoose. When the Brahman returns, the mongoose, its snout bloody, greets him. He thinks that the mongoose has slain the child, kills him, and lives to repent his hasty ingratitude. Benfey has followed out both the story and its motif a long distance, but there are really a considerable variety of other stories in which the same idea figures as a more or less controlling element.

Thus in a type whose caption might be 'The Fruit of Immortality.' The notion that a fruit may bestow immortality is familiar; it invites also the opposite conceit, namely, that it may become, after all, deadly, when sprinkled with poison. And this, in turn, opens the door to suspicion and the motif 'Hasty Ingratitude.' I have dealt with this phase in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, p. 359.²⁰ A third type is that in which a prince slays a cobra which threatens the life of the queen in the royal chamber. A drop of the blood of the cobra falls upon the queen's breast which the prince sucks off in order to save her life. Thereupon the queen wakes up and denounces the prince who is put in jeopardy of his life.²¹ Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 147 ff., presents a catena of stories that warn against hasty action, under the caption, 'Strike but hear.' Yet another type of the hasty action (without incidental ingratitude) is found in the story of the hermit and the goldsmith.²² A hermit goes to the house of a goldsmith to buy food. A heron happens to swallow some grains of gold during the goldsmith's absence. The latter suspects the hermit, tortures him, but cannot extract the truth from him, because he will not endanger

Romance, with notes and introduction by W. A. Clouston. Also in W. A. Clouston's *A Group of Eastern Romances*, Glasgow, 1889. See also *The Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 212; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 27, note. A late echo is Kipling's "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi," in *The Jungle Book*, pp. 175 ff.

²⁰ Cf. also Kathās. 123. 63 ff.; Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, p. 176 ff.; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 171 ff. See also 'The Four Paṇḍitayas,' cited in the preceding note, and cf. Tawney's *Translation of Kathāsarit-sāgara*, ii. 596, note.

²¹ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 416; Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 46, 148.

²² Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammapada (Book IX, Story 10); Kathākoṣa, Tawney's *Translation*, p. 122. Several other citations are given by Leumann in his note to Tawney, on p. 238.

the life of the heron. A servant lets fall a bundle of fagots; that frightens the heron, and makes him bring up the grains. This story again is a variant form of the 'thieving starling,' for which see Benfey, l. c. 172. The story of ingratitude towards a faithful dog which is given by Benfey, l. c. 484, as a version of the serpent and ichneumon story recurs in Knowles, *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 36 ff. Cf. in general, Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 246, and Pavie, *Contes populaires du Cambodge*, which contains several fables against hasty action, the proposed theme of the fifth book of the Pañcatantra.

HOW TO EVADE SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE (TRICK) CONDITIONS

The lexicon of almost any language finds it hard at times to give the primary or fundamental meaning of a given word. So certain story motifs appear in multiple aspects whose common basis needs to be sought out with almost lexicological circumspection. One of the oldest story motifs in the Indo-European literatures is found in the ancient Vedic Brāhmaṇa texts which furnish the setting for many so-called ākhyānas, or legends. As far as India is concerned the motif in question emerges in full growth at a very early time. We are told in several of these texts that the Demon Namuci once gets the better of the god Indra in a certain fight, yet agrees to release him, if the latter will promise to adhere to the following compact: 'not to slay him (Namuci) by day or by night; with a staff or a bow; with the flat hand or with the fists; with anything wet or dry.' Indra, nevertheless, kills Namuci with the foam of the waters, that being neither dry nor wet; at dawn, that being neither day nor night. The Namuci story itself survives in India in all strata of fiction,²² but what shall we say of the mutability and persistence of the psychic motif at all times in places widely apart. Alexander Macbain, *London Academy*, Nov. 5, 1892, no. 1070 (p. 413), quotes from Kennedy's version of Leubhar-na Feinne (p. 153): 'Grainne fell in love with Diarmaid, and said unto him with enchantment, "Thou must be my husband, and go along with me." He refused to be her husband, saying, "I will not go with you in the day nor in the night, afoot nor on horseback, without or within a house,

²² Cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 311; Muir, OST. iv. 261; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, V. 145; Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 143 ff.; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. LX; Kathās. 46. 216 ff.

in light or in darkness, in company or alone." Grainne left her bed about break of day, and found an ass. She brought the ass to the door of the house, and waked Diarmaid, and said, "Thou must now go with me for it is not day nor night, light nor darkness, I am not on horseback nor on foot, I am not in company nor alone, neither am I within or without a house, therefore your enchantment is loosed, and you must be my husband and go with me." "

It would appear from these two phases of what is obviously one and the same idea that the motif is, 'How to break a hide-bound contract.' But Benfey in his essay 'Die Kluge Dirne'³³ has collected from all over the world an astonishing number of instances in which a clever lass obtains a husband by fulfilling apparently impossible conditions in the manner of the last mentioned story. Hence his caption, 'The clever lass,' which is, however, only a particular application of the motif.

The vitality and almost delirious mutability of this motif is evidenced by a fantastic version in the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka* (546) which is a sort of Epic on the Great Sage Mahosadha (the Bodhisat). King Vedeha who is in need of an extra-good Minister hears of Mahosadha who is at the time only seven years old. Nineteen tests (*ekūnavīsati-pañho*) are devised to try his wisdom. In the fourteenth Mahosadha must contrive to send rice, boiled under the following eight conditions: without rice, without water, without a pot, without an oven, without fire, without firewood, without being sent by a road either by a woman or a man. The sage takes some broken rice, for that is not rice; snow, for that is not water; an earthen bowl, which is no pot; chops up some wood-blocks, which are no oven; kindles fire by rubbing, instead of a proper fire; takes leaves instead of firewood; sends it on the head of a eunuch, who is neither man nor woman; and the gentleman travels by a footpath, which is no road. The Tibetan version³⁴ of the story makes Mahāuṣadha supply rice which had not been crushed with a pestle, and yet was not uncrushed; which had been cooked neither in the house, nor out of the house; neither with fire, nor yet without fire; he must send it neither along

³³ *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, part 3, pp. 213 ff.; Child, *English and Scotch Ballads*, i. 485. See also Schleicher's *Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache*, ii, p. 117.

³⁴ See Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 686; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 139. Cf. also Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 64.

the road, nor yet away from the road; without its being shone upon by the day-light, but yet not in the shade; by a messenger who was neither man nor woman; not riding, but also not on foot. The sage had some women shell the rice with their nails, and cook it in the sun on the threshold of the house. A eunuch with a shoe on one foot and the other bare, walking with one foot on the road and the other by the side of the road carries it in a pot covered with thin cloth—and thus meets the stipulations.

The theme has broadened out, and we are now thinking of some such inclusive caption as 'fulfilling seemingly impossible stipulations,' or the like. But joining on to the eunuch of the Mahānuṣadha story, Plato, Republic 479 C, refers to the riddle of the eunuch²² of which the scholiast gives the following version: αἰνός τις ἐστὶν ὡς ἀνὴρ¹ τε κοῦκ ἀνὴρ ὄρνιθ² κοῦκ ὄρνιθ³ ἰδὼν⁴ τε κοῦκ ἰδὼν, ἐπὶ ξύλου⁵ τε κοῦκ ξύλου καθημένην λίθω⁶ τε κοῦκ λίθω βάλοι⁷ τε κοῦ βάλοι. 'There is the following fable: a eunuch¹ with eyes asquint² tried to hit³ a bat² perched on a reed⁴ with a piece of pumice-stone.⁵ We see now what is really at the bottom of all these variegated and widely propagated motifs, namely the riddle of the type, 'when is a man not a man?' or, 'when is a bird not a bird?', and so on, ad infinitum. It is not surprising that this fundamental notion is utilized in connection with the very broad fiction themes: 'how to perform seemingly impossible stunts,'²³ and, 'how to evade seemingly hide-bound compacts.'

All these sets of story traits make one grope for fulfilment, but fulfilment is not in sight now, any more than 75 years ago. The comparative study of fiction dates back in the main to a generation which is in the position of grandmother to the present. The names of Benfey, Köhler, Liebrecht, Kuhn, and others show what I mean. The intermediate generation has not brought anything like final fruition of these labors, but rather has continued them desultorily. Along the line which I am

²² I owe this information to the kindness of my colleague, Professor C. W. E. Miller. See Benfey, l. c., p. 216, for further particulars.

²³ In my essay, 'The character and adventures of Mūladeva,' *Proc. of the Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. lli, pp. 616 ff., I have drawn attention (p. 636, note 39) to the item 'skill tricks,' as a standard element in stories. See *Atthāna-Jātaka* (425); also *Jātaka* vi. 127, 130; *Mé. Asiat.* 1876, p. 519; Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 430; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 143.

considering there has been no real systematic development of these studies, but instead a great deal of uncorrelated labor. There is no repository for these story units, and no bureau of information concerning their homes and characters. 'Where have I heard this before?—I seem to hear a hundred echoes from literature, from fairy-tale, from folk-lore?' That, it seems to me, must be the normal frame of mind of all who busy themselves with this interesting theme. Plagued by a poor memory and, at the same time, by a fatal instinct for completeness, I am gradually groping my way to a program to whose execution I may be able to contribute, tho its fulfilment is perhaps not in the sight of any one living. One thing is certain: it is not sound or systematic philology to go on, as we have gone on, rummaging fragmentarily, painfully garnering 'lesefrüchte,' for which there is no storage place, and which, so to speak, decay on the hands of each harvester. I repeat, emphatically, that it is not only a question of recurring concinnate stories, but of single psychic traits, or conceits, or devices. These hold about the same relation to a story as does a word to a sentence. As a given word may be repeated in totally different sentences in diverse meanings, so motifs are repeated and diversified in different stories. They must be brought together in order to a better understanding of the language of stories.

THE LAUGH AND CRY MOTIF

In the following pages I shall endeavor to give the life history of one psychic motif, the laugh and cry motif, as completely and analytically as is possible in the circumstances indicated. My treatment is limited by my own reading, as indeed, at the present time, must be the treatment of any other author. It is, however, sufficient to establish tentatively one of those rubrics under which I should like to see arranged ultimately the huge stock of ideas current in fiction. It is, as it were, a provisional article in the future Encyclopedia of Fiction, or in the future dictionary of the language of story telling.

Laughing and crying are the two ends of the scale which expresses human mood or emotion. Joy and sorrow punctuate every biography from the time of the Neanderthal and Dordogne man. Until we come to the finikin modern who no longer regards it as good form to advertise emotion, man freely gives vent to laughter and crying; he knows no reason for restraining

himself. Certainly the Hindu story shows in this province no signs of repression, part reason why these motifs are constant and can be readily fructified by the narrators. They make all they can out of them, just as did the prince or princess who dropped rubies or pearls from their mouths every time they laughed or cried.²⁷ They know also that the two extreme emotions touch, and that there is in the contact pathos, humor, mystery, and so forth. When Gargantua's son Pantagruel is born at the sacrifice of his mother's life, Gargantua laments and weeps at the death of his wife, but laughs aloud and glorifies the strapping youngster he now calls his own. In some such way the two acts are brought together, not only in the same story, but at the same moment of the story. The inherent paradox evidently acts as an attraction. Because this paradox is of no one's making, being really one of nerves, it establishes itself firmly in human experience and consciousness, and finally becomes a fixed item in the apparatus of narration.

The story tellers appreciate the various kinds of emotion which produce laughter and crying. Crying expresses grief, pity for self and others, and occasionally is humorous or ironic. Laughter is much more complex. It expresses not only pure joy, but also triumph, scorn, impish mischief, irony, malice, fading out to uncanny, demonic mystery, the well-known German idea of 'hohngelächter der hölle.' It is finally used also to trick and befog.

Accordingly the use of laughter and crying as story motifs takes on a threefold aspect. On the one hand they lock hands in the same story, every time in intentional contrast. On the other hand, either laughter or crying occurs separately. Together or separately they represent an immensely fecund idea, variegated to suit every imaginable mood or emotion which can possibly be indicated in this way.

LAUGHTER AND CRYING TOGETHER²⁸

I begin my illustrations of the duplex motif with the following instance of laugh and cry as exponents of coincident serene

²⁷ See Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 13; Day, *Folk Tales of Bengal*, p. 97; Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i. p. 233.

²⁸ My collections do not concern themselves with literatures that are not Hindu. Cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes*, vol. ii, p. 172. He cites the laugh and cry from 1001 Nights and other Arabic literature; from Talmud, Berber, and other sources.

joy and chaste sorrow, elicited by the greatest possible event in Hindu life, the coming of Buddha:

In the Introduction to the Jātaka collection, vol. i, p. 54, an ascetic by the name of Kāladevala, a friend of Suddhodana, the Buddha's father, comes to the king's palace to inspect the Buddha. 'Now the ascetic could look backward into the past for forty world-cycles, and forward into the future for forty world-cycles. And, noting on the person of the future Buddha all the lucky marks and characteristics, he began to reflect and consider whether or not they professed the Buddhahip. And perceiving that undoubtedly he would become a Buddha, he thought to himself, "What a marvelous personage he is!"—and laughed.'

'Next he considered in his mind whether he would live to see him attain the Buddhahip; and he perceived that he was not to have that chance. For he would die before that time, and be reborn in the formless mode of existence, where it would be out of the power of even a hundred or a thousand Buddhas to come and enlighten him. And he thought: "It will not be mine to behold this so marvelous personage when he has become a Buddha. My loss, alas will be great"—and wept.'

The next story contrasts joy for one's self with pity for another. It comes from out of the midst of Buddhist feeling. In Matakabhatta-Jātaka (18) a certain learned and celebrated Brahman, deciding to prepare a feast for the dead (matakabhatta, a sort of *grāddha*), has a goat put in charge of his pupils to be taken to the river for washing, and other sacred preparations. The goat, remembering the events of his last birth (*pubbakammam*), and knowing that he would after his present immolation be freed from such pain, breaks into a great laugh, 'fit to crack a pot' (*ghaṭam bhindanto viya*). But again, realizing pityingly that the Brahman would succeed to his punishment when and because he had slain him, he breaks into a great cry. The disciples ask the reason for this strange conduct, and he promises to tell it in the presence of their teacher (Buddhist cliché). When brought before him he narrates that he himself in a former birth had been a learned Brahman, had performed a matakabhatta, had slain a goat, and had since then suffered at the end of 499 reincarnations the pain of having his own head cut off. Since the present existence was his

500th, he was delighted at the prospect of release from his pain, because his *karina* involved just 500 such deaths. Therefore he had laughed. On the other hand he had cried at the thought that the Brahman, if he slew him, would, like himself, go thru the pain of having his head cut off at the end of each 500 rebirths. Of course the Brahman releases the goat, who immediately sticks his head into a bush on a rock, to browse. At that very moment lightning strikes the rock, breaks off a chip which strikes the outstretched neck of the goat and cuts off his head for the 500th and last time. Thus the goat meets his destiny, and the Brahman is saved.

The reprehensibleness of goat-sacrifice is described impressively from the Jinistic point of view in Merutunga's *Prabandhacin-tāmaṇi*, pp. 93, 320.

This story is echoed in Buddhaghosa's *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 17-18: The heir apparent of the King of Benares vows to offer the blood of a hundred kings and a hundred queens to a tree spirit if he comes into the kingdom on the death of his father. Having become king he captures his victims, and prepares to fulfil his vow. One of the captives, Queen Dinnā, consort of King Uggasena, is great with child, and the king therefore releases her. Queen Dinnā convinces the king of Benares that the tree spirit had nothing to do with his success. As the queen speaks she first weeps and then laughs. When asked to explain she tells that in a previous life she had killed a ewe for food. As a punishment for this wicked deed she was reborn in hell. Afterwards, since the fruit of her wicked deed was not yet exhausted, her own head was cut off just as many times as there were hairs in the ewe's fleece. The thought of the suffering which she had endured made her weep, and the joy she felt over her release made her exult. The king was thus made to realize the enormity of the deed he was minded to commit, and immediately ordered the release of the hundred kings and hundred queens.

Similarly in the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka* (546) the Bodhisat is born as a princely youth by the name of Mahosadha. When the time has come for him to marry, he goes, in the guise of a tailor, to test a poor farmer's daughter, Amaradevi by name, to see whether she be fit to be his wife.³⁹ She has stood the test of intelligence by guessing all sorts of riddles and riddlesome

³⁹ Parallel in *Daṣakumāracarita*: Mitragupta's second story.

actions; she has shown devotion and absolute obedience; she has proved herself an excellent house-wife; she has been tempted vainly with gold. She is finally brought before him, arrayed in his regal splendor. She does not recognize him, but when she looks at him breaks into laughter and crying. And when asked to explain she says: 'My Lord, I laughed when I beheld your great splendor thinking that this is due to your good deeds in a former existence; I cried out of pity for you, thinking that you would go to hell, because you must have robbed others of their well-guarded possessions.' After this supreme test of her purity, she is finally introduced to her splendid station as the Bodhisat's wife.

In Sāma-Jātaka (540) the virtuous boy Suvannasāma laughs and cries when he hears that his parents have gone blind. When asked to explain he says: 'I wept because your sight is gone while you are still young, but I laughed to think that I shall now take care of you. Do not grieve, I will take care of you!'

F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon* ('Stories from the Sain-sārasāgaramanthanam'), p. 41, narrates how Gaṇapati brings an infidel to woe, through three successive misfortunes, the last culminating in death. Then he laughs and cries. He laughs to think of the folly, blindness, and insolence of the miserable infidel. But he cries from pity when he thinks of the terrible punishment awaiting in the future the foolish fellow and all like him. Bain's stories seem to me spurious.

Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 122 ff., gives an account of a Jinistic version of the Pañcatantra in Old Gujarāṭī, called the Pañcākhyānavārttika. On p. 130 he summarizes its version of the well known fable of the crocodile and the monkey's heart⁴⁰ which introduces the laugh and cry motif, secondarily, as we may judge from all the classical versions of the story in Sanskrit and Pāli. When the monkey gets scared he asks his pretended friend, the crocodile, to confess where he is carrying him. The crocodile answers that he intends to feed his wife on the monkey's heart, in order to save her life. Thereupon the monkey laughs. When the crocodile asks him for the reason of his laughter the monkey tells him that they must return to fetch his heart which hangs upon a fig-tree. The crocodile

⁴⁰ Pañcatantra, 4. 1; Jātaka, 208; Āṇḍasaptati, 67; Kathāsaritsāgara, 68. 97 ff.; cf. Benfey, Pañcatantra, i. 420. Innumerable echoes in the folklore books.

turns about, and the monkey escapes to the fig-tree. On the top of the fig-tree the monkey cries. One may gather from the sequel of Hertel's account that the monkey laughed because he knew that he would thus trick the crocodile, but that he cried after he had escaped, because he had been so foolish as to trust with his life the crocodile about whose family and character he knew nothing. The motif by this time is evidently a cliché which the author of this version has added to the story as an extra ornament, that lay ready to his hand, pigeon-holed, as it were—now a familiar and acceptable means for pointing a moral.

At this point the use of the double motif begins to descend a bit from the ethical pinnacle which it has occupied so far. In the vampire-story in Çivadāsa's recension of the Vetāla-pañcaviṅcati, 23; Kathāsaritsāgara 97; Oesterley's Baitāl Pachīsī 22, Vedāla Cadai 22,⁴¹ the vampire narrates how a certain Brahman, realizing that he was getting old, enters, by dint of his supernatural powers, the corpse of a youth.⁴² Thereupon he first cries and then laughs (or dances). The vampire then asks Vikrama (as usual in all the vampire stories) to explain this enigmatic procedure. The king interprets that the ascetic was grieved at abandoning that body which had grown up with him for many years, in which he had enjoyed the love of his mother and the joys of his youth; but that he rejoiced because he was about to enter a new body by whose means he would obtain even greater magic power. Nowhere does the use of the duplex motif illustrate better the contiguity of the two opposite emotions. Similar laughter and crying in 'Thousand nights and a night' (Breslau i, p. 62; cf. Oesterley, p. 212).

In the Hindi version of the Vampire stories (Baitāl Pachīsī, p. 24), but not in the Sanskrit versions, there is an unimportant

⁴¹ Babington in *Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages*, vol. i, Part iv, p. 84.

⁴² For magic inhabitation of corpses, see Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i, p. 122 ff., and see in addition the well-told story of Vikrama's change to a parrot in Pārṣvanātha Carita 3. 105-330; Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 13; Lescallier, *Le Trône Enchanté*, p. 130 ff.; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 102; Anaryan (Pseudonym for F. Arbuthnot), in 'Early Ideas,' *Hindoo Stories*, pp. 131 ff., where the story is ascribed to a Prākṛit poet Hurridas (Haridāsa); Butterworth, *Zig-zag Journeys in India*, p. 167 (The Parrot with the soul of a Rajah). See also the story, presumably spurious, told by F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 84.

and insipid variant of this story: On the death of a charming boy, as he is laid out upon the bier, a Yogin decides to inhabit the young body. The father of the boy seems to understand the nature of the miracle, and first laughs and then cries. When the vampire asks Vikrama to explain he says: The father laughed when he saw that the Yogin entered the body, because he thus became acquainted with his magic art; but he cried at the thought that he one day would have to abandon his own body. At this point, we perceive, the motif begins to assume the nature of a mere clothes-line upon which to hang clothes, either new or ragged.

The combined laugh and cry fades into a mere gruesome mystery once more in the introduction to the tales of Vampire: King Vikrama climbs up the aṣoka-tree on which is suspended the corpse inhabited by the vampire, who later on tells the 25 tales. He cuts the rope and flings the body to the ground. The moment it is flung down it cries out, as if in pain. Then the king, supposing it to be alive, comes down, and rubs the body out of compassion; that makes the corpse utter a loud demoniac laugh. Then the king knows that it is possessed by a Vetāla, and says without flinching, 'Why do you laugh? Come, let us be off!' And immediately he misses from the ground the corpse possessed by the Vetāla, and perceives that it is once more suspended on that very tree. Āivādāsa's version, nr. 1; Kathāsāritsāgara 75; Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 24. The Vampire again utters a horrible laugh as Vikrama takes him down from the aṣoka-tree in the introduction of Vetāla 4; Kathāsāritsāgara 78.

Once more in the same text, Vetālapañcaviṅcati 14; Kathāsāritsāgara 87; Baitāl Pachīsī 13, the laugh and cry motif becomes mere riddle mongery. A wealthy merchant's daughter falls in love with a handsome thief, as he is being led to be impaled on the stake. She sends her father to ransom him, but the king is inexorable, and the thief dies impaled on the stake. Just before his death he hears of the conduct of the girl and breaks out into crying and laughter. When the Vampire has finished this tale he asks King Vikrama to explain the puzzling behavior of the thief. The several versions have various explanations: the thief weeps at the thought of the generosity of the merchant (or his daughter), or, more particularly, because he is no longer able to recompense the merchant; and he laughs because the maiden has fallen in love

with a thief, after having rejected royal suitors, or because she has fallen in love with him in the hour of his death. Or the thief laughs at the entire grotesque occurrence, and cries over the grief which the parents of the maiden must feel. See Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 203.

In the famous cycle of stories about Rāja Rasālu, as told in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb* (London 1908), p. 116, the cruel Rāja Sirikap has a gateway to his palace which is built of men's skulls. Rasālu, who is coming to trick and overcome Sirikap, is led in by the Gate of Skulls, where he sees piles of heads grim and ghostly, which first laugh and then cry as he passes them. Rasālu asks them to pray that he may have luck:

'For then one yard of cloth I'll bring for every head in turn,
And on a pyre of sandal-wood each one of you shall burn.'

The heads, presumably, first laugh when they see their avenger, Rasālu, and then cry to indicate their woes and their desecration. Skulls' or dead men's laughter has developed into a sub-motif in folklore. See Sirisūk's dead man's laugh in Swynnerton, *ibid.* p. 112; the ghastly laugh of the six skulls who explain to the prince that his own head will also be placed by their side, in Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 194; and the laugh of the jinn's skull in Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 3. In Fleson's *Laos Folklore of Farther India*, p. 134, the skull of a boy who in life had been an arch-roguer, when drawn up from a river by two fishermen, laughs mockingly at them. We may infer that he thinks they too will some day suffer death. Furthermore, related with this sphere of the motif is Prince Thānuji's frenzied laugh and cry when he realizes the misfortunes of his beloved wife Gangabāi, in Naṭesi Sāstrī's *Folklore in Southern India*, p. 179; and the mysteriously dangerous 'Weeper and Laughter,' in Schiefner-Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 63.

Inasmuch as humor hovers on the outskirts of paradox the combined motif passes in due time into the domain of the facetious. The first instance may be entitled 'Ultima Socrus,' or 'the final fruit of the Mother-in-Law.' It is told, again, in the course of the adventures of Rāja Rasālu, in Swynnerton's *'Romantic Tales from the Panjāb,'* p. 87. Rasālu has set out to conquer the giants of Gandgarh, and arrives at a large city which, however, is as silent as the grave. Finally in a distant corner of it he discovers a miserable old woman kneading and

baking quantities of bread, and preparing abundance of sweetmeats, but all the time she is either weeping or laughing. Surprised at a spectacle so extraordinary, Rasālu halted and said: 'Mother, in this solitary place who is to eat all that food, and why are you both weeping and laughing?'

'The king of this place,' said the woman, 'is Kashudeo, and he has ordered that a human being, a buffalo, and four hundred pounds of bread shall be sent daily to a certain place for the giants. Once I had seven sons, of whom six have been devoured, and to-day it is the turn of the seventh, and to-morrow it will be the turn of myself. But I am laughing because also to-day my seventh son was to have been married, and because his bride—ha! ha!—will have now to do without a husband.'⁴³

With these words the woman fell to laughing and crying more bitterly than ever.⁴⁴

Mūladeva and his boon companion Çaçin⁴⁵ have arrived at Pāṭaliputra, the home of polished wits, to try the cleverness of its inhabitants. There Çaçin saw a boy crying at the door of a house with a warm rice-pudding on a plate in front of him. And he said, 'Dear me! this is a foolish child not to eat the pudding in front of him, but to vex himself with useless crying.' When the child heard this he wiped his eyes, and said laughingly, 'You fools do not know the advantages I get by crying. The pudding gradually cools and so becomes nice, and another good comes of it: my phlegm is diminished thereby. These are the advantages I derive from crying; I do not cry out of folly; but you country bumpkins are fools because you do not see what I do it for.' Kathās. 124. 136 ff.

The satirical note is struck once more in Swynnerton, p. 220: One night a camel trespassing in a weaver's field left there the

⁴³ This goes one better the poor minstrel (or peasant) whose house teemed with bugs. He sets the house afire, and sings:

'Wann dat nit jöt för di Wandlūs es
Dann wess der Düwel was besser es.'

See Hertel's *Translation of Pañcīṣṭaparvan*, p. 249.—The story reminds one of dvesti çvaçrūh, RV. 10. 34, 3; Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 224; Kathās. 29. 69 ff.; and Naṭeśa Śāstri, *Folklore of Southern India*, p. 99 ff.

⁴⁴ In Temple's version of the story, *The Legends of the Panjāb*, vol. I, p. 19, the anecdote is told defectively; the old woman explains her crying, but not her laughter. So also Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 258, 306. An echo of the story, *ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴⁵ See the author, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lli, 631.

marks of his feet. In the morning the owner brought there the oldest weaver in the village to explain what manner of animal had trodden down his corn. The old man on seeing the footprints both laughed and cried, and when asked to explain, says, 'I cry because I think to myself, "what will these poor children do for someone to explain things to them when I am dead," and I laugh, because, because, as for those footprints, I know not, no, I know not, what they are.'

Related with the mother-in-law story is the following told in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 39: A prince was walking along one day when he saw a potter crying and laughing alternately with his wife and children. 'O fool,' said he, 'what is the matter? If you laugh, why do you weep? If you weep, why do you laugh?' The potter, after some urging, replied: 'The king of this country has a daughter whom he is obliged to marry every day, because all her husbands die the first night of their stay with her. Nearly all the young men of the place have thus perished, and our son will be called on soon. We laugh at the absurdity of the thing—a potter's son marrying a princess, and we cry at the terrible consequence of the marriage.' The prince changes places with the potter's son, slays the two shamars that come out of the princess' nostrils, and lives with her happily ever after.

In a vaguely similar way, Steel and Temple, *Legends from the Panjāb*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii, p. 320: A servant is substituted for a princess and sent to a prince, who dislikes and beats her. She laughs and cries. Cries on account of her hurts; laughs on account of the deceit practiced upon the prince.

Finally, there is that contact between crying and laughter which rests upon the close contact between joy and sorrow, or tragedy and comedy in human life. A cuckold husband laughs and cries when his dissolute wife whom he still cherishes returns to his home in abject poverty and full of repentance. She herself laughs from grief at her husband's kindness, and dies from a broken heart. See, F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 79. A wretched, poor, and decrepit old mother, ejected from her home by a heartless daughter-in-law obtains from her village divinity a fruit of immortality, becomes young and strong, and sheds tears of joy and sorrow upon the shoulder of her son who has gone out to find her. See Naṭeṣa Sāstri's *Folklore in Southern India*, p. 101.

In Shaikh Chilli, *Folktales of Hindustan*, p. 165, an usurper kills a king, his adoptive father, but the pregnant queen escapes. When her son grows up, ignorant of his royal parentage, he goes to an archery contest at the court and wins the prize, which consists of 500 gold mohurs, a suit of clothes, arms, and a horse. His royal instinct leads him to select those that belonged to his murdered father. When his mother sees him, she both cries and laughs in the same breath. She explains, 'I laughed when I saw you return in this equipment, which belonged to your father. I wept at the thought of the change of fortune which has brought us to this pass. Now you know the secret of your birth, and the reason of my weeping and laughing.'

In Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 177, a jealous wife transforms a younger wife and her son into a cow and her calf. The husband, unknowingly, sacrifices the cow, but is restrained from sacrificing the calf by a look in its eye. A girl, seeing the calf, laughs and cries, because the calf has been spared, but its mother has been killed.

Princess Panjphulārānī ('Five-Flower-Queen') smiles and then weeps at the sight of a prince who has come to marry her. When the prince asks why, she answers: 'I smiled first at your beauty, and then I wept, because, when the gardener's wife comes to weigh me to-morrow, I shall weigh more than five flowers, for this reason, that till to-day I have never seen a man, and now I have seen you. My father will kill you when he hears of it.' See Steel and Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, xi. 75.

An old woman weeps with one eye, laughs with the other. She weeps because of the misfortunes that await a prince, from which he can be rescued only by a wazir on the condition that the wazir says nothing at all. Why the woman laughs is not explained, probably because of the final happiness of all parties concerned. See Crooke, *Indian Antiquary*, xxi. 188 ff.

In Ram Satya Mukharji's *Indian Folklore*, p. 2 ff., Darraf Khan overhears in the forest a female demon's loud and shrill laugh. She explains that she has reason to be merry because to-morrow she will be married to Bhutu Chandai, one of Darraf Khan's friends. Bhutu Chandai will be gored to death and will then come to the plane of the demon's astral entity, and will be given to her in marriage by her sovereign. Darraf Khan tries to save Bhutu Chandai from his impending fate by locking him in his hut, but a great conflagration breaks out, the neigh-

bors break into his hut, release him, only to be promptly gored by a mad bull. In the evening, again, Darraf Khan hears the demon sob. She explains that all her hopes are blasted. The bull which gored Bhutu Chandal to death had on its horns a few grains of sacred soil from the bed of the holy Ganges, the mere touch of which was sufficient to send Bhutu Chandal to paradise. 'I shall not, therefore, have him for my husband. Alas! I do not know how long I shall have to wait for a husband.'

Most effectively the cross between tragedy and comedy that makes up much of human life is employed as a pivot for Buddhist morality in Culladhanuga-Jātaka (374), and in the corresponding Tibetan story Suṣṇonī, 'Beautiful-hipped,' the doubly unfaithful wife. See *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 745 = Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 232 ff.⁴⁰ Suṣṇonī, after having abandoned faithlessly more than one husband, has taken up with a robber who reflects that she is likely to make away with him also. As they travel together they come to a stream; Suṣṇonī takes off her clothes and jewels, and gives them to the robber to carry across: afterwards he is to fetch her. But the robber abandons her naked and destitute—and she wept. A jackal with a piece of meat in his mouth came there and placed himself in front of the woman, and just then a fish jumped out of the water and fell before the jackal. The jackal, dropping the piece of meat, sprang up to catch the fish, but the fish jumped into the water, and a bird seized the piece of meat—then she laughed. The jackal (who is really God Indra) asks why she, that should be crying, was laughing thus boisterously, and she explains, because he, poor fool, had lost both flesh and fish. Easily the jackal turns the tables on her by pointing out that she had lost both spouse and lover, and thus works her repentance.

LAUGHTER BY ITSELF

More frequent than the combined laugh and cry is laugh alone, sometimes born of joy forthright, but more often of irony,

⁴⁰ Cf. also *Sussondi-Jātaka* (360), and *Kākāti-Jātaka* (327). See Bentley, *Pañcatantra*, i, 468, and the *Dhūmini* stories, J. J. Meyer, *Daṣaku-māracaritam*, pp. 87 ff. (with additional parallels and references).

malice, mystery and trickery.⁴⁷ The steed Kanthaka laughs a great laugh of joy when he notices that the future Buddha, about to start on the Great Retirement (*mahābhinikkhamana*) preparatory to his Buddhahood, girds him tighter than is his custom:

'It is not at all as on other days, when I am saddled for rides in the park and the like. It must be that to-day my master wishes to issue forth on the Great Retirement.'⁴⁸

In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 24 ff., King *Çalivāhana*, making the rounds of his city, comes upon a laughing fish which has just been thrown up by the waves of the river. Bewildered with fear, he consults the monk *Jñānasāgara* who explains as follows: 'In a former life, as a poor wood-carrier, you used to come to eat your humble meal at the bank of this very river. One time you saw walking in front of you a Jaina hermit who had come to break a month's fast. So you called him and gave him the ball of meat that you had made. From the surpassing merit of that act you have become King *Çalivāhana*.⁴⁹ The hermit has become a god. That god entered into the fish and laughed for joy at beholding the soul of the wood-carrier, which is none other than yourself, born in the rank of a king.' The story is told somewhat differently in *Prabandhakoṣa*; see Tawney's note on p. 208 of his translation of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*.

Amor omnia vincit. Another instance, this time of triumphant laughter, dashed with an element of Puck-like impishness, is told in the same text, p. 96. King *Bhoja*, in the company of the *Paṇḍit Dhanapāla*, leaves a temple. In the passage of its door *Dhanapāla* sees a statue of the God of Love (*Kāma*) clapping hands with his wife *Rati* (Consummation)—and he laughs. This laugh is merely contagious with *Dhanapāla*. He is infected with the hilarity of the God of Love himself, who is made to explain as follows: 'God *Çiva*, the ascetic, who once

⁴⁷ Rarely from grief. Paradoxically, the sage *Pulastya* laughs out of sorrow over the fate of a *Vidyādhara* king who has become a parrot in consequence of some sin; see *Kathās*. 59. 56, 159. Cf. the enigmatic smile of *Moggallāna* in *Dhammapada Commentary*, below, p. 62. In F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 79, a faithless wife repentant returns home, laughs from grief at her husband's kindness, and then dies broken-hearted.

⁴⁸ *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 60, line 20 ff.

⁴⁹ To a similar act *Mūladeva* owes his kingdom; see the author in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. lli, pp. 644 ff.

upon a time in wrath reduced to ashes Kāma by the fire of his eye, afflicted with separation, now bears his beloved in his own body'—alluding to the hermaphrodite Īiva (ardhanārīṣa, ardhanaṛīṣvara): 'So we are conquered, are we?', saying this, and patting Rati's hand lovingly, triumphs laughingly the victorious God of Love.

Again and again an enigmatic laugh serves as the pivotal point of a story, or is used with rhetorical or dramatic effect to mark its point. In Kathākoṣa, p. 185, King Tāmracūḍa, seated in a typical seven-storied palace, surrounded by sycophant courtiers, asks them by whose favor they enjoy such a fortune of rule, and they answer, 'King, all this springs from your favor.' The Princess Madanamañjarī laughs a little, and then remains silent. On being asked the reason she answers: 'My father, these servants of yours said what is not true, for that reason I laughed.' 'Then, my dear, what is true?' 'Every man fares according to his own action.'⁵⁰ The king, enraged, marries her to a leper, who is, in reality, a magic-skilled Vidyādhara king by the name of Kanakaratha. After putting her wifely devotion to the utmost test, Madanamañjarī enjoys the proper fruit of her *karma* as his resplendent queen, and easily convinces her father Tāmracūḍa, that everyone fares according to his own actions.

The wicked king Duryodhana overcomes Yudhiṣṭhira, and carries him and his family to his own city, where he inters them all in a pit dug in the prison. At the end of each day he furnishes them with food enough to sustain a single man. Then Yudhiṣṭhira says to his son Çakuni: 'Dear son, eat you alone and live, in order that you may wreak vengeance upon Duryodhana. When I am dead make dice of my bones⁵¹; they will bring you success. By the help of these dice you shall surely destroy Duryodhana.'

It happened one day that Duryodhana passed his urine against a fig-tree. A seed of the fig-tree fell in, and bobbed up and down in the urine. Noticing this he had to laugh, thinking that from such a seed had this great tree sprung.

Some women come along and, when they see him laugh, they

⁵⁰ Cf. the stories of Prince Sobur in Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 124 ff.; C. A. Kincaid, *Deccan Nursery Tales*, p. 71 ff.

⁵¹ On victorious dice made of dead men's bones see Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 270 ff.

laugh also. The king becomes angry and sends them to prison. Çakuni sees them there, and asks the reason of their mirth. They answer: 'We saw Duryodhana laughing as he passed his urine near a fig-tree. Then we too laughed; we know nothing else.' Then Çakuni consults the dice, and through their magic power finds out the cause of Duryodhana's mirth. He then tells the women to go to the king and say thus and thus. They obtain permission from the king, appear before him, and explain the cause of his laughter. Duryodhana, astonished and angered at their knowledge of what went on in his soul, by threats makes them reveal the source of their information, the prisoner of the pit, Çakuni. He then induces Çakuni to become his prime minister, a position which gives him the craved opportunity to destroy Duryodhana, thus avenging his father and his family.

The story is found as one of two extras in a couple of Hitopadeça manuscripts, published by Hertel in ZDMG. LV. 489 ff.; translated by the same author on p. 242 of his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parīṣṭaparvan* (Leipzig 1908).

The following story, from a later time, also concerned with fate and retribution, pivots about a triple mysterious, sardonic laugh. In Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 114 ff., a fakir named Nānakṣā (i. e. Nānak Shāh, the founder of the Sikh religion) is in the habit of visiting a grain merchant who with his wife are glad to see him. One day they saw a goat led away to be killed. The goat escaped from his guard and hid behind the merchant, but was recaptured and marched off to slaughter. At this the fakir laughed. Later they saw an old woman who was being led to execution for some offence; she likewise escaped and took refuge behind the merchant, but she also was recaptured and led away to die. Again the fakir laughed. At this moment the merchant's little daughter woke and began to scream. Her mother took her in her arms; the child was cross and pulled her mother's clothes all awry. Again the fakir laughed.

In the end Nānak explains to the importuning merchant's wife: 'The goat in his former life was your husband's father, and your husband could have saved his life by giving the man who was taking him to be killed four rupees. The old woman who hid herself behind your husband was his grandmother in her former life; he could have bought her release for twenty

rupees. Should a wild beast or a man ever take refuge behind us, it is our duty to save their lives.

'Well,' said the merchant's wife, 'you have told me why you laughed the first two times. Now tell me why you laughed the third time.'

'Listen,' said Nānak. 'You remember your husband's sister whom you tormented so much? She died, but then God caused her to be born again as your daughter, that she might torment you and punish you for having been so unkind to her in her former life, when she was your sister-in-law.'

Somewhat similarly, in Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 95, a man dies in pursuit of a mirage in the desert. His relatives censure him. An ascetic laughs that they should censure the madman for pursuing the mirage, while they themselves pursue the world and its appurtenances. The same author, p. 64, reports two more instances of the laugh motif: 1) a princess laughs at a false ascetic's austerities. 2) An ascetic laughs, after being emasculated by a princess on whom he endeavored to commit rape, thru joy at escaping with his life.

Harsh and incomprehensible fate leads to the anti-climax of laughter in *Vedāla Cadai*²² 21: The king who ruled in the city of Sithirapuram makes love to a certain damsel, when he is espied and arrested by a giant who threatens to devour them. But the giant agrees to spare them if they deliver up the child that is to be born to them. In due time as the giant is in the act of sacrificing it, the child laughs. As usual the *Vetāla* asks *Vikramāditya* the reason why, and the latter explains: 'If any one punish a child, it appeals to its father and mother; if the father and mother punish it, it must appeal to the king; if the king punish it, it must appeal to the deity; but if the deity thus treats it, to whom can it appeal? Reflecting thus, the child laughed.'

Another instance of enigmatic fateful laugh is told in *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 56 (p. 31 of Tawney's translation): Prince *Sindhala*, going out to hunt at night, saw a boar roaming near a place where a thief had been impaled, and not noticing that the corpse of the thief had fallen upon the ground, he pressed it down with his knee and proceeded to aim an arrow at the boar. Thereupon the corpse called to him. He prevented it

²² Babington's Tamil version of *Vetālapañcaviṅcati*, in *Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental languages*, vol. i, Part iv, p. 82. This story does not occur in the other versions.

from touching his hand, and having pierced the boar with an arrow, was drawing it towards him, when the corpse rose up, uttering a great laugh. Sindhala said to it: 'When you called to me, was it better that I should hit the boar, or attend to you, and not hit the boar?' When he had finished this speech, that ghost, which was seeking occasion against him granted him boons of prowess, and advised him to go to the country of Mālava, ruled by king Muñja. Now this Muñja was a foundling who had been adopted by Sindhala's own father, King Sindhadantabhaṭa, and had been given the succession over the head of his own son Sindhala. Sindhala then remained living at the court of his adopted brother, displayed haughtiness and therefore had his eyes put out by Muñja, after which he was confined in a wooden cage. But he begot a son, the far-famed king Bhoja, who in the end succeeded Muñja. The latter, in his turn, came to a cruel end. What the corpse found to laugh at will be construed differently by different readers. It seems to me that, in accord with its demonic (Rākṣasa) nature, its laugh is a mixture of admiration of Sindhala's insouciant coolness in finishing up the boar during its own hair-raising performances, dashed with ironic glee at the tangled fatalities in the sequel: Sindhala's tragic fate, tempered by the fact that his son Bhoja ultimately avenges him and becomes king of Mālava.

The laugh of this satanic corpse seems to be patterned after the cry and laugh of the Vetāla, above p. 74.

An enigmatic laugh with a touch of humor in Kathās. 124. 140 ff.; A young and foolish Brahman by the name of Agniṣarman is married to a child wife. When he grows up he starts to fetch his wife, but is warned of danger by omens. He welcomes these omens with the words, 'Hail! Hail!', and the divinity presiding over the omens laughs at him unseen, saying, 'Why this fool welcomes bad luck as if it were good! So I must give him the luck which he welcomes. I must contrive to save his life!' Agniṣarman thru the treachery of his wife is condemned to death, but the divinity saves him from execution, and brings punishment upon the guilty. Note also the humorously ironic laugh of the Vetāla Bhūtaketu in Kathās. 124. 41.

In a story or two the mysterious laugh is used to trick or befog. Thus in the story of the astute gambler Tīnṭhākarāla in Kathāsaritsāgara 121. 160 ff. The gambler has established

himself as a Yogin, so saintly as to induce the king of the country to visit him. In the evening when the king was preparing to depart a female jackal suddenly uttered a yell at a distance. The cunning gambler laughed. And when the king asked him the meaning of the laugh, he said, 'Oh, never mind!' But when the king went on persistently questioning him, the deceitful fellow said: 'In the forest to the east of the city, under a ratan, there is a pitcher full of jewels; so take it.' This as a first step in gaining the king's confidence for his own ulterior purposes: the gambler himself had buried the pitcher in that place.

Still more shrewdly a trick laugh saves the life of a jackal in Çukasaptali 44. In the course of the clever trick-stories about a woman who pretends to be a tiger-killer (vyāghramārī),⁵³ a tiger with a jackal bound to his back flees precipitately from the woman, his supposed pursuer. The jackal's back and paws are torn up cruelly in the course of the flight, and he is near death from loss of blood. Then the jackal notwithstanding his pains breaks into a loud laugh.⁵⁴ Asked by the tiger to explain he says: 'My lord, I have recognized Vyāghramārī, the demon. Thru your mercy I am alive and far away from her. But if she, the wretch, should follow the track of my blood, how can we remain alive? Therefore I laugh.' Of course the tiger then releases the jackal and takes himself off, to the great satisfaction of the jackal.

⁵³ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 506; Stan. Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, p. 146; Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 181. The story is a favorite of the folk-lore collections: see O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, pp. 36 ff. (the same collection, p. 48, contains another good instance of the trick-laugh); Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 134 ff.; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 35; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 274; Campbell, *Santal Folktales*, pp. 45, 49; Bodding, *Folktales of the Santal Parganas*, p. 339; Parker, *Village Folktales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 213; Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 45; McCulloch, *Bengal Household Tales*, p. 305; Wood, *In and Out of Chanda*, p. 59; A. R. Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, pp. 204, 380; *Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 261. In Natesa Śāstri's *Folklore in Southern India*, pp. 91 ff. = Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 98, there is a variant of the vyāghramārī motif, executed by a man and his wife against a crowd of goblins (bhūtas). And the story of the barber and the ghost (brahmadaitya), in Ram Satya Mukharji's *Indian Folklore*, pp. 100 ff.; Day, *Folk-Tales*, pp. 257 ff.; Gordon, *Indian Folktales*, p. 58, is built upon the same motif.

⁵⁴ In Benfey's account of this item (*Pañcatantra*, i. 506) the jackal both laughs and cries. Laughter, to trick; crying, because he is pain.

In Shaik Chilli's *Folktales of Hindustan*, p. 124, a disguised robber takes service with an eloped couple, a prince and princess, the latter being disguised as a man. He treacherously kills the prince, but spares the princess on learning her sex. Shortly afterwards she laughs; the robber surlily asks her to keep quiet, and asks why she laughs. She points to the sky, and says, 'Look up, look up, what a beautiful kite!' When he looks up she cuts off his head.

There is one mysterious laugh, and as far as I know only one, that has become universal and classical, the laugh of the dead, or even cooked fish. The story blends mystery and cynicism in equal parts. It is familiar to everybody from 'Thousand nights and a night.'⁵³ The story is told most simply in Kathās. 5; rather more elaborately in Çukasaptati 5-9; and still more complicatedly in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 484 ff. The Kathās. version is about as follows: King Yogananda sees his queen leaning out of the window, and asking questions of a Brahman guest that is looking up. That trivial circumstance throws the king into a passion, and he gives orders that the Brahman be put to death. Then as the Brahman is being led off, a fish in the market laughs aloud, tho it is dead. The king stops the execution of the Brahman, and asks his minister Çakatāla for an explanation of the mystery. On the advice of Sarasvatī the latter takes up a position on the top of a palm-tree, and soon sees a horrible female Rākṣasī coming past with her children. When they ask her for food, she says: 'Wait, and I will give you to-morrow the flesh of a Brahman, he was not killed to-day.' 'Why was he not killed to-day?' 'He was not executed because a fish in the town, tho dead, laughed when it saw him.' 'Why did the fish laugh?' 'The fish said to himself, all the king's wives are dissolute, for in every part of his harem are men dressed up as women. Nevertheless, while these escape, an innocent Brahman is put to death—and this tickled the fish so that he laughed.'

The version of the Çukasaptati goes the Kathāsaritsāgara one or two better in the grimness of its cynicism: King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī dines with his beloved wife Kāmalilā. He

⁵³ See also *Indian Antiquary*, xvi. 66; xxii. 321; Bodding, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 70; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 250. For parallels outside of India, see Tawney's *Translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. i. p. 24, note.

offers her roast fish, and she declines: 'My lord, I am unable to look at these men, much less to take hold of them.' When the fish heard that they, fried as they were, broke into peals of laughter, so that the people of the city heard it. Needless to say Queen Kāmalīlā is just such another; her exposure by the wise maiden, Bālapaṇḍitā, is worked in a much more intricate fashion than in the version of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

I may mention, finally, the enigmatic smile of Moggaḷāna in Dhammapada Commentary. His smile (sitam) is at the sight of sundry visionary hell tortures and hell phenomena. What he finds to laugh at is not at all clear: crying were more natural. See Book v, stories 12 and 13; Book x, story 6, and Book xx, story 6. Cf. the Lakkhaṇa-Samyutha (*Samyutha Nikāya*, vol. ii, pp. 254-262). We may compare Pulastya's laugh about fate, above p. 80, note.

Similarly Yama smiles mysteriously when a Brahman comes before him believing that he had performed austerities on the banks of the Ganges for fifteen years. He had in fact performed them on the banks of streams he mistakenly thought to be the Ganges. Yama's smile means that right penance, wherever performed, is as good as that performed on the banks of the Ganges. See F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 75.

CRYING BY ITSELF

An impressive instance of the cry-motif by itself is contained in Kathāsaritsāgara 53; and in the Vetāla stories (Çivadāsa 4; Kathāsaritsāgara 78; Baitāl Pachīsi 3).⁵⁶ A powerful, generous, and beneficent king has a Rajput servitor and guard by the name of Viravara. The king has tested him repeatedly, but not yet has come the supreme trial. Once upon a time the king hears a woman weeping in the distance,⁵⁷ a strange thing in his kingdom, where there are no poor, afflicted, or oppressed. He sends Viravara to find out. When he comes upon the woman she explains that she is Earth, that the king is her righteous

⁵⁶ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 414; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 194. A similar story under the caption, 'King Sadrak and his Dewan,' is told in Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual*, 1839, pp. 138 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. the cry of grief all around in the city because the Brahman boy Mahīpāla has been found bitten by a poisonous snake, Kathās. 56. 123.

lord, that he will die on the third day, and where shall she then obtain another such lord (subtle, flattering, pun on the word bhūpati, which means 'Lord of the Earth,' but is construed to mean 'husband of the Earth'). Viravara finds out that he may save the king's life thru the sacrifice of his own son to the goddess Caṇḍī (Durgā). The boy gladly consents; Viravara cuts off his head; his daughter and wife from grief also commit suicide, and finally Viravara follows suit. But the king, who has followed them all secretly to the scene of immolation, prays to the goddess to accept his own life as the price for resuscitating the devoted family. The goddess stops him, brings to life the family, and the king out of gratitude shares his kingdom with Viravara. Several parallels to this story are reported by Oesterley, p. 185, and Tawney, ii. 257, and a somewhat similar narrative is given in Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, pp. 144 ff., 182.

In the story of Gul Badshah, told by Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, p. 25 ff., the Princess Senah hears dismal wailings and moanings which no one can explain. They disturb her peace of mind to such an extent that she makes the solution of the riddle part price of her hand. Needless to say a daring prince turns up obligato, and finds that the wails come from the soul of a usurer who had died in a good cause. He together with nine others had escorted a wedding party thru the dark depths of a forest, and all had been massacred by robbers. Rice comes down from heaven for the souls of the nine, but for the soul of the usurer come stones only. The prince redeems the soul of the usurer by finding some of his hidden treasure and distributing it in charity. For wailing souls in hell torments cf., e. g., Catudvāra-Jātaka (439), and see Anderson's note to the same, '*A Pāli Reader*,' p. 118.

Swynnerton, p. 157, has a good anecdote which shows the occasional sardonic turn given to these motifs: A priest is holding forth on the torments of the life to come, and observes one of his auditors, a poor farmer, weeping profusely. 'Ah, you sinner!' cried the preacher, interrupting his discourse, 'you are crying, are you? My words have struck home, have they? You begin to think of your sins, do you?'

'No, no,' answered the man, 'I was not thinking of my sins at all. I was thinking of my old he-goat, that grew sick, and died a year ago. Such a loss! Never was a beard so like the beard of my old he-goat as yours.'

The same type is cited from the Tamil *Katāmañcari* by E. Strutt in *The Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 166: A minstrel sings a ballad and waves his head from side to side as he sings. A shepherd in the crowd sobs unceasingly. The people, thinking that he is crying from joy, say: 'Why do you cry? don't do so!' The shepherd replies: 'Alas! one of the sheep in my flock was seized with convulsions causing distortions similar to these (of the minstrel). This child also (evidently one of his own), also of a year old, has suffered from them, and so I weep.'

Occasionally there is a lamentation to trick or mislead: In *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (539) the chief Queen of King Arittha-janaka in Mithilā at the suggestion of a Brahman simulates tears of joy at meeting with the Brahman. They play the rôle of sister and brother in order to ensure the safety of the Queen. In Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 180, a young thief disguises himself as a woman and weeps on the pretense that her son is dying. She begs for a piece of camel's flesh to cure her son, and thus succeeds in ferreting out a theft of stolen treasure. See also the tricky interpretation by the gambler *Thiṇṭhākarāla* of the cry of the statue *Kalāvātī* in *Kathās*. 121. 174 ff.

The type of more or less enigmatic weeping is represented by a point in the *Mahānārada-kassapa-Jātaka* (544); where the slave *Bījaka* weeps from 'weltschmerz,' believing that his pious life is bearing no fruit. In *Dhammapada Commentary*, Book I, story 2,⁵⁸ *Matṭhakundalī* pretends to cry for the sun and moon to use as wheels for his chariot, and thus instructs his father to seek the truth thru the Act of Faith in the Buddha. Finally there is some mysterious, undefined weeping in *Temple, Legends of the Panjāb*, vol. i, p. 14.

⁵⁸ Burlingame, l. c., p. 488.

The So-called Epic of Paradise.—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

The all-Sumerian document entitled by Dr. Stephen Henry Langdon "The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, Flood, and Fall of Man," and published by him in the University of Pennsylvania's *Publications of the Museum Section*, Vol. X, No. 1, shows no evidence of being what Dr. Langdon claims for it.

On pp. 6-7, Dr. Langdon, in his synopsis of the supposed contents of the inscription, states that this is a poem inspired by the Fall of Man, and that the Paradise existed in Dilmun. If we examine, however, Obv. i., 1-30 in the following re-translation of the Epic, it will become apparent that the description of the conditions therein indicated does not refer to a happy and blissful country, but rather to a territory which had been decimated and practically destroyed by drought. It is stated that Dilmun is a purified place and a clean place; but when in lines 13 ff. we find a very clear exposition of desolation: no birds utter their cries, the mother (animal) comes to eat the grain no more, the birds of heaven hatch their young no more, girls are given no more in marriage, etc., while even beasts of prey ravage no longer—because there is evidently nothing to prey upon, it becomes apparent that the expressions "clean" and "purified place" can only refer to the *cleaned out* desolateness of the region. Reference to Obv. i., note 6 in the following Commentary will show that "clean" and "pure" are not infrequently used in an evil sense, a fact which was first pointed out by Professor Paul Haupt in his University lectures. I believe that Dilmun is probably the correct reading of the ideogram thus read by Langdon (see Obv. i., note 2 below).

Furthermore, Obv. i., 31-38 is not, as Langdon states, "a long address (by Ninella) glorifying the land of Dilmun and praising its peace and bliss," but a statement by Ninella to Ea that the existing condition of drought has arisen through the fate set for the territory by Ea, and is a mere preliminary to the following petition for water, Obv. ii., 1-8.

It should be carefully noted that the singer *asks for water* for Dilmun in Obv. ii., 1-8, which could not have been the case if the water in question was to be in the nature of a devastating

inundation. In Obv. ii., 9-19, there is a promise that the prayer for water shall be answered, and that Dilmun shall once more be "a house of assembly of the land," Obv. ii., 17. Then follows the actual promise of safety to man, Obv. ii., 20-32, where Ea expressly states that no man "shall be taken," Obv. ii., 27, and that mankind "may sleep" = "rest," so far as he is concerned, Obv. ii., 30. In the next section, Obv. ii., 33-46, the fields received the beneficent waters, which culminated, as they usually did in this region, in the ninth month. This is certainly not an allusion to the Noachian deluge, for we have in the lines, Obv. ii., 43-44 (repeated twice below), the statement that Nintu the mother of the land made it (the land) "like fat, like fat, like butter." Langdon thinks that this means the dissolving of the corpses of mankind like fat, etc.; but in the first place, there is no indication in the text that men were killed at all, and secondly, fat and butter do not dissolve in water! After a careful study of the language of the text, I can only conclude that in Obv. ii., 27, the line means: "So far as I am concerned, no man shall be taken" (*dib-bi* = *cabātu* 'seize' = 'take'), and that this line indicates the good intention of the god, not evil, as Langdon thinks.

Nintu now proceeds to state to Ea that she wants a special person allotted to her, Obv. iii., 1-8; and in lines 4-8, in a quadruplet of repetitions uttered by the divine herald Isimu, she receives permission to take charge of such a one. Langdon takes this to indicate that Nintu is to care for the Babylonian Noah, who, he thinks, is later mentioned as TAG-TUG. That this *protégé* of the goddess is Tagku (probably not TAG-TUG) is very likely, but there is nothing to show that he is the only surviving man. Ea, having permitted the instruction of Nintu's favorite by the goddess, now, after due preparation, gets into his boat (Obv. iii., 10-12) and apparently goes himself to inundate the fields of the dried-up land (13). It is again repeated that the inundation lasted nine months and that Nintu as mother of the land caused it to be a fruitful country: "like fat, like fat, like butter" (18).

Then follows what may have been an antiphonal restatement of what preceded. Obv. iii., 21-28, again tells us that Nintu, only this time under the sobriquet Ninkurra, asks and receives permission from Ea to care for a particular person. The following section, Obv. iii., 29-38, is a similar antiphony to Obv.

iii., 9-20 (Obv. ii., 33-36), showing how Ea conducted the inundation in person in his own boat.

Tagku now appears for the first time by name, Obv. iii., 39, in the section Obv. iii., 39-45, with a curious phrase: "Tagku accepted," or "agreed," but, as the line is broken, we do not know to what. It is probable that he agreed to accept the charge to be put upon him by Nintu (Ninkurra), as she says to him that she will purify him, apparently by ritual washing, 41 (*ri* = both 'wash' and 'inundate') and she praises him as the only one allotted to her, i. e., not the only one left alive, but the only one whom she chose for her special purpose. This section shows almost beyond a doubt that in the previous passages the one allotted to the goddess was Tagku. I cannot accept Langdon's reading (TAG-TUG) of this name, which he adopted, *op. cit.* pp. 66-69 (although it is only fair to state, with reservations, p. 69), because he wished to connect Tagku with the stem *nāxu* 'to rest,' seen in the Biblical name Noah. It is very far-fetched to attempt to get the meaning 'rest' from the meaning of *tag* 'overthrow' (Delitzsch: *zugrunderichten*), and then to couple *tag* with the *tug*-value of KU, simply because KU means *ašābu* 'sit down'! The combination Tag-ku is a new one, and difficult to explain. It may be similar to *ur-ku* 'big dog,' as opposed to *ur-tur* 'little dog.' In this case, it might mean 'the great overthrower.' The pronunciation of the name was probably Tag-gu, as we find *ku* in *dumu-KU*, II R. 48, 33a, pronounced *dumu-gu*. That Tag-gu(ku) has any significance bearing directly on this document is highly doubtful. It is merely the name of the favorite of Nintu (Ninkurra). He was apparently dignified by the compiler of the inscription with the divine sign, to indicate that in Tag-gu(ku) we have a super-man.

In Rev. i., 18-25, there seems to be an injunction to Tag-gu to go to the temples of Ebaraguldu and Erabgaran and remain there. The streams and canals are to be filled as a result of the previously described inundation. In fact, the text is unclear enough to permit the supposition that this filling with water has been already accomplished. Taggu is now called the gardener, Rev. i., 26, which indicates quite clearly Nintu's purpose in making him her agent: she wished to instruct the people in the art of agriculture and irrigation.

Taggu then goes to the temples mentioned and meets Ea face

to face (Rev. i., 37-38). Ea questions Taggu and receives the reply that he is the gardener. Ea agrees to accept him in this character, and Taggu swears allegiance. Under Taggu's care, vegetation evidently increased, and then Ea's herald gives to the goddess the great god's decree as to the use of the various plants. It must be noted that all these utterances are permissive, with not a single prohibition. Apparently, however, Taggu eats the *amgaru*, or cassia plant, which, not having been permitted in the preceding list, is therefore forbidden, as a curse is connected with it, Rev. ii., 37: "When he who eats this plant dies, he shall see no more life (38)." This statement appears to indicate that such a transgressor shall enjoy no life after death. Only here do I find a parallel with the narrative in Genesis, and even this may not be a true parallel. This implication as to the cassia plant may merely indicate that it was not to be classed among the edible vegetation. The Anunnaki (earth spirits) are overwhelmed with grief at the curse pronounced against Taggu.

The goddess, who is now called Ningarsag (clearly identical here with Nintu-Ninkurra), becomes angry with Ea and asks the great god whether this is to be the reward for her motherhood. Ea then allots to her two shrines in the city where her name shall be honored. The next lines, Rev. ii., 45-47, are very obscure. The sense seems to be that the head, foot and eye, i. e., the entire person, of the goddess's *protégé* shall remain like that of other men. He is to suffer no physical injury from eating the cassia plant, and is to remain as the teacher of agriculture and irrigation, but must die the death of mankind.

In Rev. iii., a council of the gods seems to be alluded to which decides as to the proper treatment of disease. Then follow a series of formulae of worship (really incantation rubrics) to certain deities who control the various human ills. A number of powerful deities are now specified as having been commissioned to control the people with certain distinct functions, and these gods are herein ritually identified with certain other deities (Rev. iii., 45-49). In this list Nintulla is allotted to *Magan*; and *Enšagme* to *Dilmun*. The entire inscription closes with the usual praise formula, *Glory be!*

There can be little doubt that this is a purely ritual tendency-writing. The various perfectly evident antiphonies confirm this idea, while the arbitrary rubrics of identification of god

with god at the close, and the constant submission to Ea as the supreme deity, would seem to show that we have here a production of the Ea-cult, possibly drawn from various sources. The compiler has used the annual drought and its subsequent relief by the annual floods as a *staffage*, around which to build a special adoration of Ea, with the lesson contained in the hymn (for it was really a hymn) that the flood must be controlled by a gardener who appears here as a special person, possibly semi-divine, working under the direction of Nintu, the mother of the land, but always with the consent of Ea. This view of the inscription is so different from that held by Dr. Langdon that it has seemed advisable to give a retranslation of the entire text; for, while Dr. Langdon has upheld his reputation as a most expert Assyriologist in his copy of the text, it is impossible for me to agree with him as to his general deductions. The Assyriological world should be grateful to Dr. Langdon for having placed before it so interesting and instructive a document. I am far from believing that my own view as to this problem is the only possible one, and shall be glad to welcome any new light on this complicated question. I have consulted as to this work Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, and Messrs. Kraeling and Maynard of the Columbia Assyrian Seminar.

The text is divisible into twenty-four sections, according to the sense, generally discussed above, which are indicated as follows: (A.) Obv. i., 1-30; (B.) Obv. i., 31-38; (C.) Obv. ii., 1-8; (D.) Obv. ii., 9-19; (E.) Obv. ii., 20-32; (F.) Obv. ii., 33-46; (G.) Obv. iii., 1-8; (H.) Obv. iii., 9-20; (I.) Obv. iii., 21-28; (J.) Obv. iii., 29-38; (K.) Obv. iii., 39-45; (L.) Rev. i., 1-17; (M.) Rev. i., 18-25; (N.) Rev. i., 26-29; (O.) Rev. i., 35-48; (P.) Rev. ii., 7-15; (Q.) Rev. ii., 16-33; (R.) Rev. ii., 33-39; (S.) Rev. ii., 40-44; (T.) Rev. ii., 45-47; (U.) Rev. iii., 6-23; (V.) Rev. iii., 24-41; (W.) Rev. iii., 42-50; (X.) Rev. iii., 51.

Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., has kindly sent me the following list of emendations made by him as a result of a re-reading of the original. Some of these I have incorporated in the text. Obv. i., 15, 17, 18: *ub* for *te*; 19: add *nu*. Obv. ii., 24: *dirig* for *e-a*; 25, *uš-a-ni* for *ID-a-ni*. Obv. iii., 1: *bi* for *gi*; 1, 5, 8: *Nin-šar* for *Nin-tu*; 2, 22: *zūk-ra* for *mā-ra*; 4, 5, 7, 8: *ub* for *te*; 11, 31: the fraction sign $\frac{2}{3}$ for *maškim*; 21: *bi* for *gi*. Rev. i., 18, 19, 35, 36, 46, 47: Jastrow doubts the readings

E-bara and *E-rab*; 42: *šam*, Br. 4681, for *Ur(?)-dingir*; 48: *si-gi* for *zi*. Rev. ii., 34: substitute *lugal-mu* for *uđ-bi-a*; 34: *bi* for *te(g)*; 40, 42: *lul-a* 'rebelliously,' for *guš-a*. Rev. iii., 7: *Šeš-ki* for *en-zi* and supply *⁴Nin-(ab)*; 25: *ab* (LIT), Br. 8866, for *utul*; 42: *tu-ne-en-na šur-ra*, for *tu-ne-en-na-aš gar-ra*.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

OBVERSE I.

- (A.) 1 (*e-ne-ba-ám e-ne-ba-ám me-en-ci-en*)
They that are cut off, they that are cut off are ye!
- 2 (*kūr*) *Dilmun-ki-azag-ga-ám*
In the land of Dilmun which is a purified place.
- 3 (*ki-azag-ga e-ne-ba-ám me-en-ci-en*)
in the purified place, they that die are ye!
- 4 . . . *kūr Dilmun ki-azag-ga-ám*
. . . the land of Dilmun is (verily) a purified place.
- 5 *kūr Dilmun ki-azag-ga-ám kūr Dilmun el-ám*
The land of Dilmun is a purified place; the land of Dilmun is a clean place.
- 6 *kūr Dilmun el-ám kūr Dilmun laḡ-laḡ-ga-ám*
The land of Dilmun is clean; the land of Dilmun is cleaned (out).
- 7 *áš-ni-ne Dilmun-ki-a ú-ne-in-na(d)*
Lonely in Dilmun they lie down (now);
- 8 *ki ⁴En-ki dam-a-ni-da ba-an-da-ná-a-ba*
Where Ea with his consort used to lie;
- 9 *ki-bi el-ám ki-bi laḡ-laḡ-ga-ám*
that place is clean; that place is cleaned (out).
- 10 *áš-ni-ne*
Lonely [in Dilmun they lie down (now)]
- 11 *ki ⁴En-ki ⁴Nin-el-la ba-an-da-ná-a-ba*
where Ea with Ninella used to lie down;
- 12 *ki-bi el-ám (ki-bi laḡ-laḡ-ga-ám)*
that place is clean (that place is cleaned out)
- 13 *Dilmun-ki-a ú-nag-ga-ḡu dúg-dúg (KA-KA) nu-mu-ni-bi*
In Dilmun the raven(?) utters his cry no more;
- 14 *dar-ḡu-e ḡu-dar-ḡU-ri nu-mu-ni-ib-bi*
the cock utters his cock-crow no more;
- 15 *ur-ḡu-la sag-ḡiš nu-ub-ra-ra*
the lion slays no more;

- 16 *ur-bar-ra-ge sıl nu-ub-kar-ri*
by the wolf the lamb is seized no more.
- 17 *lik-ku mäs gam-gam nu-ub-ba*
The dog by the crouching kids is feared no more.
- 18 *tud(?) še-kur-kur-e nu-ub-ba*
The mother (animal) to eat the grain comes no more;
- 19 *nu-mu-un-zu dım-sıl-ra-bi . .nu- . .ba*
seed of her body(?) for her young lambs (she produces no more?).
- 20 *müšen (ĞU)-e an-na dım-bi nu . . . -e*
The birds of heaven their young (hatch no more?)
- 21 *tu-ĞU-e sag-nu-mu-un-da-şub-e*
The doves lay no more.
- 22 *igi-gig-e (igi-)gíg me-en nu-mu-un-ni-bi*
"Eye ache thou art eye ache" no longer is said.
- 23 *sag-gíg-gi sag-gíg me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Headache thou art headache" no longer is said.
- 24 *um-ma-bi um-ma me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Old woman thou art an old woman" no longer is said.
- 25 *ab-ba-bi ab-ba me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Old man thou art an old man" no longer is said.
- 26 *ki-el a-nu-tú-a-ni eri-a nu-mu-ni-ib-sig-gi*
The girl in a city where no water is poured they give not (in marriage).
- 27 *galu id-da bal-e-mi-dé nu-mu-ni-bi*
That a man has crossed the canal, no more is said.
- 28 *libir-e X-e nu-mu-nigin*
The temple servant to his office(?) no longer turns.
- 29 *lul-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi*
"A lie thou hast lied" no more is said.
- 30 *galam eri-ka i-dúr (KU) nu-mu-(ni-bi)*
"The notable dwells in the city" (no more is said).
- (B.) 31 *ḏNin-el-la a-a-ni ḏEn-ki-ra gù-mu-na-de-a*
Ninella to Ea her father spoke:
- 32 *eri mu-e-sig eri mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-ma-za*
A city thou hast given, but a fate thou hast set for it.
- 33 *Dilmun eri mu-e-sig eri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-ma-za)*
In Dilmun a city thou hast given, a city (thou hast given, but a fate thou hast set for it).

- 34 (. . .) *mu-e-sig cri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-
ma-za)*
(. . .) thou hast given a city (thou hast given,
but a fate thou hast set for it).
- 35 *íd-da nu-un-tuk-a*
. . . . no canal it has any longer
- 36 *(cri)mu-e-sig cri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-
ma-za)*
. . . . (a city) thou hast given, a city (thou hast
given, but a fate thou hast set for it).
- 37 *-da*
- 38 *a a*

OBVERSE II.

- (c.) 1 *gir-ma-an-gal-la-za a ġe-im-ta-e-de*
Into thy great territory (fields) may the waters flow
(again)
- 2 *eri-zu a ġe-gál-la ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag*
May thy city drink water in abundance
- 3 *Dilmun a ġe-gal-la (ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag)*
May Dilmun drink water in abundance
- 4 *dul a-šeš-a-zu dul a dug-ga ġe-im-(ta-da-du-ne)*
To thy pool of bitter (stagnant) water may a pool
of sweet water flow
- 5 *eri-zu é gú-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġe-a*
May thy city be the house of assembly of the land
- 6 *Dilmun-ki é(gú-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġe-a)*
May Dilmun be the house (of assembly of the land)
- 7 *ì(NI)-de-šu ^dBabbar uđ-dé-a*
Now, O Sungod, shine forth
- 8 *^dBabbar an-na gub-bi-e*
O Sungod in heaven do thou stand (appear)
- (d.) 9 *gir-du-a dū(GABA)-ezen-ki-na-ta*
He that walks in Du-ezen-ki-na
- 10 *suġur (ʔ)-e ^dNanna(r)-a-ta*
. . . . the enclosure (ʔ) with the Moongod
- 11 *ka-a-ki-a-laġ(DU.DU)-ta a-dug-ki-ta mu-na-ra-gub
(DU)*
From the mouth of the earth when he comes, with
sweet waters of the earth he shall stand forth for
thee (give thee; present thee with)

- 12 *gir-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-e (DUL.DU)-dē*
To his great territory (fields) the waters shall go
forth
- 13 *eri-ni a ġe-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag*
His city shall drink water in abundance
- 14 *Dilmun-ki a ġe(-gal-la im-ta-nag-nag)*
Dilmun shall drink water in abundance
- 15 *dul a šeš-a-ni a-dug-ga na-nam*
His pool of bitter (stagnant) waters shall be a pool
of sweet waters
- 16 *a-šag (LIB) qar-ra nam-a-ni še-mu-na-ab-?*
Fields of assembly
- 17 *eri-ni é gú-gar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam*
His city a house of assembly of the land shall be
- 18 *Dilmun-ki é gú(-gar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam)*
Dilmun shall be a (house of assembly of the land)
- 19 *i(NI)-dē-šu ^dBabbar ud-dē-a ur-ġe na-nam-ma*
Now verily it shall be that the Sungod shall shine
forth
- (E.) 20 *áš-ni (NI) GIŠ-KU-PI-GI tuk-a*
The only one, he who possesses knowledge(?)
- 21 *^dNin-tu ama kalam-ma-šú*
to Nin-tu the mother of the land
- 22 *^dEn-ki-ge GIŠ-KU-PI-GI tuk-a*
Ea he who possesses knowledge
- 23 *^dNin-tu (ama kalam-ma-šú)*
even to Nin-tu (the mother of the land)
- 24 *uš-a-ni dirig ba-an-ši-in-dun*
his full counsel in the temple he revealed to her (-ši-)
- 25 *uš-a-ni gi-a X-X-e ba-an-ši-X-X-e*
his counsel
- 26 *uš-a-ni bar-šú maġ-dug ša-ba-ra-an-zi-zi*
his counsel in secret mightily (and) graciously he
imparted to her
- 27 *gú-ne-in-de mǎ-ra galu nu-mu-un-dib-bi*
he spake: "for me no man shall be taken"
- 28 *^dEn-ki-ge gú-ne-in-de*
Ea spake
- 29 *zi an-na ni-pad*
in the name of heaven he swore

- 30 *ná-a mà-ra ná-a mà-ra enim-ni*
 "let them sleep for me; let them sleep for me" was
 his word
- 31 *⁴En-ki-ge a ⁴Dam-gal-nun-na enim-ni mi-ni-in-dúg*
 Ea, the father of Damgalnunna, his word he uttered
- 32 *Nin-ġar-sag-gâ-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-ri*
 The fields of Ninġarsag I will inundate
- (F.) 33 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ⁴En-ki-ga-ka*
 the fields received the waters of Ea
- 34 *ud-àš-ám iti-àš-a-ni*
 It was the first day of the first month
- 35 *ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni*
 It was the second day of the second month
- 36 *ud-eš-ám iti-eš-a-ni*
 It was the third day of the third month
- 37 *ud-lim-ám iti-lim-a-ni*
 It was the fourth day of the fourth month
- 38 *ud-ja-ám (iti-ja-a-ni)*
 It was the fifth day (of the fifth month)
- 39 *ud-aš-ám (iti-aš-a-ni)*
 It was the sixth day (of the sixth month)
- 40 *ud-imin-ám (iti-imin-a-ni)*
 It was the seventh day (of the seventh month)
- 41 *ud-ussu-ám (iti-ussu-a-ni)*
 It was the eighth day (of the eighth month)
- 42 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-saḫ-a-ka*
 It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
 of the spreading out of the waters
- 43 *ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-dug-nun-na-*
gim
 Like fat, like fat, like butter
- 44 *(⁴Nin-tu) ama kalam-ma-ka*
 (Nin-tu), the mother of the land
- 45
- 46 *in-tu-ud*
 made (created) it.

OBVERSE III.

- (G.) 1 *⁴Nin-tu gú-id-da-gâ-šú mi-ni-iḫ-bi*
 Nintu on the bank of the river spake (replied) to him

- 2 *En-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne*
By Ea this one has been allotted for me; this one
has been allotted
- 3 *sukkal-a-ni Isim ne gú mu-na-de-e*
His herald Isimu thus spake to her
- 4 *galu dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi*
the son of man, that pious one, as thy seed reverence
him
- 5 *Nin-tu šág-ga e-(ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi)*
O Nin-tu, that pious one (as thy seed reverence him)
- 6 *sukkal-a-ni Isimu (?) ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*
His herald Isimu thus replies to her
- 7 *galu-dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi*
the son of man, that pious one, as thy seed reverence
him
- 8 *Nin-tu šág(-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi)*
O Nintu, that pious one, as thy seed reverence him

- (H.) 9 *lugal-mu ní(IM)-dirig-ga-ri ní(IM)-dirig-ga-ri*
My king (Ea), who is clothed with awfulness, who
is clothed with awfulness
- 10 *gir-ni áš-a giš má-a ne-in-gub (DU)*
his foot first upon the ship he placed
- 11 *2 gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub (DU)*
Two guards he placed for himself
- 12 *gaba im-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-an-su-te(g)*
He strengthened the outside fabric (of the ship ?);
with fire he purified it (?)
- 13 *En-ki-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-ri*
Ea had inundated the fields
- 14 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a En-ki-ga-ka*
the fields had received the waters of Ea
- 15 *ud-áš-ám iti-áš-a-ni*
It was the first day of the first month
- 16 *ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni*
It was the second day of the second month
- 17 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti-nam-sal-a-ka*
It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
of the spread of the waters

- 18 *ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-dug-nun-na-*
gim
 like fat like fat like butter
- 19
- 20 *⁴Nin-tu (ama kalam-ma-ka) in-tu-ud*
 Nin-tu, the mother of the land, made (created) it.
- (1.) 21 *⁴Nin-kùr-ra (gú-íd-da-gà-šú) mi-ni-ib-(bi)*
 Ninkurra on the bank of the river spake (replied)
 to him
- 22 *⁴En-ki-ge mà-ra im(-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne)*
 O Ea, for me this one is allotted, this one is allotted
- 23 *sukkal-a-ni ⁴Isimu ne(gù-mu-na-dé-e)*
 his herald Isimu thus spake to her
- 24 *galu-dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*
 the son of man that pious one as thy seed take him
- 25 *⁴Nin-kùr-ra šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*
 O Ninkurra, that pious one as thy seed take him
- 26 *sukkal-a-ni ⁴Isimu ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*
 his herald Isimu thus replies to her
- 27 *galu -dumu šág-ga e-ne su-in-X-in*
 the son of man, that pious one, (as thy seed take
 him ?)
- 28 *⁴Nin-kùr-ra šág-(ga e-ne su-in-X-ni)*
 O Ninkurra, that pious one (as thy seed take him ?)
- (J.) 29 *lugal-mu ní(IM)-dirig-ga-ri*
 My king (Ea), clothed in awfulness, clothed in awful-
 ness
- 30 *gir-ni áš-a má-a ne-in-gub (DU)*
 his foot first upon the ship he placed
- 31 *2 gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub (DU)*
 two guards he placed for himself
- 32 *gaba in-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-ni-su-te*
 he strengthened the outside fabric (of the ship);
 with fire he purified it(?)
- 33 *⁴En-ki-ge ašag ba-ni-in-ri*
 Ea inundated the fields
- 34 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ⁴En-ki-ga-ka*
 the fields received the waters of Ea
- 35 *ud áš-ám iti-áš-a-ni*
 The first day of the first month

- 36 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti-nam-sal-a-ka*
It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
of the spreading of the waters
- 37 *ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-lum-gim ja(NI)-dug-nun-na-*
gim
Like fat, like fat, like butter
- 38 *⁴Nin-kur-ra ja(NI)-lum (in-tu-ud)*
Ninkurra made (created) it.
- (K.) 39 *⁴Tag-ku sal-ni-dím in-*
Tagku accepted, he
- 40 *⁴Nin-tu(d)-ri ⁴Tag-ku-ra gú mu-na-dé-e*
Nintu to Tagku spake
- 41 *na-ga-e-ri na-ri-mu*
Verily I will purify thee; my purification
- 42 *gù ga-ra-dúg (?) enim-enim-mu*
I will say to thee my words
- 43 *galu dš-ám mà-ra im-da-lal (e-ne im-da-lal e-ne)*
the only man for me has been allotted that one, has
been allotted that one
- 44 *⁴En-ki-ge mà-ra im(-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne)*
O Ea for me has been allotted, that one has been
allotted, that one
- 45 *igi-im-?-e*
.

REVERSE I.

- Twelve lines broken
- (L.) 13 *sal-ni-dím igi im-* . . .
he agreed he saw (or) has been shown
- 14
- 15 *a-na*
- 16 *šag giš-šar a-*
- 17
- (M.) 18 (*é bara gu-ul-dú-*) *ba DU-um*
To Ebaraguldu go
- 19 *é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba DU-um*
To Erabgaran go
- 20 *e-a tú(KU?)-šu-nun-tú (KU?)-tu-mu ġe-dúr(KU)*
In the temple may my guide (?) dwell (or 'sit')
- 21 *⁴En-ki-ge tú(KU)-šu-nun-tu-mu ġe-ne-im-dúr(KU)*
May Ea my guide (?) dwell in it

- 22 *2 gu-ma (maškim-ma) a-si-si-da-ni*
Two attendants who fill with water
- 23 *è a-ne-in-si*
shall fill the streams with water
- 24 *pà a-ne-in-si*
the canals they shall fill with water
- 25 *KI-UD a-ne-in(-de or -si)*
The dried up place they shall irrigate (fill with water?)
- (N.) 26 *nu-giš-šar a-na NE*
The gardener what
- 27 *gúzal(NI) gú-da im-ši-in-*
.
- 28 *a-ba me-en giš-šar*
Who is it who the garden ?
- 29 *En-ki-ge nu-giš-šar (-ra)*
Ea to the gardener
- Four lines broken
- (O.) 34 *.im-ma-*
- 35 *É-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba im-ma-an-gen(DU)*
To Ebaraguldu he went
- 36 *É-rab-ga-ra-an-ba im-ma-an-gen(DU) ùr-ra-ni ne-in-mal-e*
To Erabgaran he went, his seat he took
- 37 *En-ki-ge igi-ni im-ma-an-sig-sig mudur šu-ne-in-gaba*
Ea looked upon him with a sceptre he confronted him
- 38 *En-ki-ge Tag-ku-ra gir im-ma-an-gub (DU)*
Ea before Tag-ku stood up
- 39 *é-na al-de-de-e gál(İK)-kid gál(İK)-kid*
In his temple he commanded: open the door; open the door
- 40 *a-ba me-en za-e me-en*
Who art thou?
- 41 *mà-e nu-giš-šar gúl-si giš-ma-*
I am a gardener full of joy
- 42 *šam-šu ga-mu-ra-ab-sig*
at a price I will appoint thee
- 43 *Tag-ku šag-gul-la-ni-ta é-e gál(İK)-ba-an-kid*
Tag-ku with heart full of joy the temple's door he opened.

- 44 *En-ki-ge Tag-ku-ra sal-ni-dim*
Ea unto Tag-ku consented
- 45 *gul-as gar-ra-na ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
Joyfully as his gift he gave unto him
- 46 *E-bara-gu-ul-du-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
For Ebaraguldu he gave it to him
- 47 *E-rab-ga-ra-an-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
For Erabgaran he gave it to him
- 48 *Tag-ku sal-ni-dim gul mu-na-ab-si-gi su mu-na-*
sig(PA)-gi
Tag-ku accepted it his left hand he waved; his hand
he waved

REVERSE II.

Several lines illegible

- (P.) 7
- 8 (*u* *im-ma*)-*an-ma* (SAR)
The plant grew
- 9 (*u* *im-ma*)-*an-ma* (SAR)
The plant grew
- 10 (*u* *im-ma*)-*an-ma* (SAR)
The plant grew
- 11 (*u* *im*)-*ma-an-ma* (SAR)
The plant grew
- 12
(The plant grew)
- 13
(The plant grew)
- 14 *u* (.) *im-ma-an-ma* (SAR)
The plant grew
- 15 *En-ki-ge ma-ra im-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne*
O Ea for me has been allotted this one, has been
allotted this one
- (Q.) 16 *sukkal-a-ni Isimu ne gu-mu-na-de-e*
His herald Isimu thus spake to her
- 17 *u ma-e nam-bi li-ne?*
As for the plants their fate I (have determined)
- 18 *a-na-am ne-e a-na-am ne-e*
What is this, what is this (said she)

- 19 *sukkal-a-ni* ^d*Isimu ne mu-na-ni-gi-gi*
His messenger Isimu thus replied to her
- 20 (*lugal*)-*mu ú-giš mu-na-ab-bi*
My king (Ea) as to the woody vegetation has decreed
- 21 *mu-na-kud-dé ba-kur-e*
He may cut off from it; he may eat it
- 22 *lugal-mu ú-gurun mu-na-ab-bi*
My king as to fruit-bearing plant has decreed
- 23 *mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*
He may tear off from it; he may eat of it
- 24 *lugal-mu ú. . . -mu*
My king as to the . . . plant (has decreed)
- 25 *mu-na-kud-dé ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 26 *lugal-mu ú-a-gug (PA.SAR) mu-(na-ab-bi)*
My king as to the . . . plant has decreed
- 27 *mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*
He may tear off from it; he may eat of it
- 28 (*lugal-mu*) *ú . . . -tu-tu mu-na-ab-bi*
My king as to the . . . has decreed
- 29 (*mu-na-kud-dé*) *ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 30 (*lugal-mu ú . . .*) *mu-(na-ab-bi)*
My king as to the . . . plant has decreed
- 31 (*mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba kur-e*)
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 32 (*lugal-mu ú . . . mu-na-ab-bi*)
My king as to the . . . plant has decreed
- 33 (*mu-na-kud-dé*) *ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- (R.) 34 (*lugal-mu*) *ú-am-ġa-ru mu-na-ab-bi*
(My king) as to the cassia plant has decreed
- 35 (*mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*)
He tore off from it; he ate of it
- 36 . . . *ú nam-bi ne-in-tar šáb-ba ba-ni-in-di*
(Cassia ?) the plant whose fate he had determined,
to it he went
- 37 ^d*Nin-ġar-sag-gà-ge mu* ^d*En-ki nam-erim ba-an-kud*
Ninġarsag, in the name of Ea, a curse uttered

- 38 *i-dé na-am-ti-la en-na ba-ùg(?) -gi-a i-dé ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en*
The face of life, at the time when he dies, he shall not behold
- 39 *⁴A-nun-na-ge-ne saġar-ta im-mi-in-dúr-túr (KU-KU)-ru-ne-eš*
The Anunnaki in the dust sat down
- (s.) 40 *lul-a ⁴En-líl-ra mu-na-ra-ab-bi*
Angrily to Enlil she spake
- 41 *mà-e ⁴Nin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-ši-du-mu-un a-na-ám nig-ba-mu*
I Ninġarsag have borne thee children; what is my reward?
- 42 *⁴En-líl tu lul-a mu-na-ib-gí-gí*
Enlil the begetter angrily replied to her
- 43 *za-e ⁴Nin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-du-mu-un-nam*
Thou Ninġarsag hast borne me children
- 44 *uru-mà 2 giš-mal ga-ri-du(KAK) mu-zu ġe-pad-di*
In my city 2 thrones I will make for thee (and) thy name shall be called on (there)
- (t.) 45 *sag-ni áš-ám im-ma-an-pěš-pěš*
. . . . his head like the others is fashioned
- 46 *(gir)-ni áš-ám im-ma-an-búr-búr*
his foot (?) like the others is designed
- 47 *igi-ni áš-ám ġibíl ne-in-gar*
his eye like the others is endowed with light

REVERSE III.

About five lines mutilated

- (u.) 6 *ne en ⁴En-líl*
. . . . thus(?) Enlil
- 7 *ne Šeš-ki*
- 8 *šū ma-du-ne en ⁴Nin-(ib)*
To they went the lord god
- 9 *šū mu-du-ne en*
To they went the lord
- 10 ? ? *ni-me-a zi(?) -mu-mu ? ? mu*
- 11
- 12 *⁴Nin-ġar-sag-gà-ge ? im*
Lines 13-16 illegible

- 17 *te be-an*
 18 *ⁿNin-ġar-sag-gà-ge é ?-im-ma-an*
 Ninġarsag
 19 *ⁿEn-lil* *šū-ga-ni ba-an-tùb (KU)-bi-eš*
 En-lil they rested (?)
 20 *li-im-ra-an-ag-eš*
 They gave attention to it (?); they consulted about
 it (?).
 21 *nam-im-ma-an-tar-eš*
 Fate they declared
 22 *šū-lī im-ra-an-būr-ru-uš*
 Destiny they fixed
 23 *ⁿNin-ġar-sag-gà-ge* *-la-na ba-ni-in-tùb*
 (KU)
 Ninġarsag rested (?)
- (v.) 24 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig (MI)*
 My brother in what way art thou distressed?
 25 *ab (LIT)-mu ma-gig (MI)*
 my cattle are distressed for me
 26 *ⁿAb-ú im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ab-ú has been created for thee
 27 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig (MI)*
 My brother in what way art thou distressed?
 28 *ú-tul-mu ma-gig (MI)*
 My flocks are distressed for me.
 29 *ⁿNin-tul-la im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Nintulla has been created for thee
 30 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig (MI) KA-mu ma-gig (MI)*
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 speech is distressed
 31 *ⁿNin-ka-ú-tu im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ninkaútu has been created for thee
 32 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig (MI) KA-mu ma-gig (MI)*
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 mouth is distressed
 33 *ⁿNin-ka-si im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ninkasi has been created for thee
 34 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig (MI) (na-zi-)mu ma-gig (MI)*
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 genitals (?) are distressed

- 35 ^dNa-zi im-ma-ra(-an-tu-ud)
Nazi has been created for thee
- 36 šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig(MI) da-(zi-mu ma-gig MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed my
. . . . is distressed
- 37 ^dDi-zi-ma-a im-ma-ra(-an-tu-ud)
Dazima has been created for thee
- 38 šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig(MI) ti-(mu ma-gig MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
principle of life is distressed
- 39 ^dNin-ti im-ma-ra-an-(tu-ud)
Nintil has been created for thee
- 40 šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig(MI) me-mu (ma-gig MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
judgment is distressed
- 41 ^dEn-šag-me im-ma-ra-an-(tu-ud)
Enšagme has been created for thee
- (w.) 42 túr-túr-lal-lal-ba tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra-(ne-en-na-áš)
Great at the time of their birth and in their deeds
- 43 ^dAb-ú lugal ú ġe-a
Let Ab-ú be ruler of vegetation
- 44 ^dNin-tul-la en Má-gan-na ġe-a
Let Nintulla be ruler of Magan
- 45 ^dNin-KA-ù-tu ^dNin-a-zu ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk
Let Nin-KA-ùtu make Ninazu her own (become the
same as)
- 46 ^dNin-ka-si ^dNig-šag-si ġe-a
Let Ninkasi be the same as Nig-šag-si
- 47 ^dNa-zi ù-mu-un dar-a ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk
Let Nazi become the same as the lord of the cock (?)
- 48 ^dDa-zi-ma-a . . . -zi-im ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk
Let Dazima become the same as . . . -zim
- 49 ^dNin-(ti) nin iti-e ġe-a
Let Nin-ti become the lady of the month
- 50 (^dEn-šag-me) en Dilmun-na ġe-a
Let Enšagme be the ruler of Dilmun
- (x.) 51 zag-sal
Glory be!

COMMENTARY.¹

OBSERVE I.

1 *ba* 'divide, give, apportion,' hence here = 'cut off'; never means 'sleep' (L.), a meaning which Langdon probably got from Obv. i., 8: *banda-nába*, where the *-ba* is relative and not a part of the root.

2 *Dilmun* is probably correct. The usual ideogram for Dilmun is NI-TUK, but in Langdon's text, the sign consists of SAL, instead of NI, + TUK. It will be remembered that NI has the value *sal* (*cal*), so that SAL-TUK really may = NI-TUK = Dilmun. Furthermore in Rev. III, 50, the phonetic complement after this ideogram is *-na* = *Dilmun-na*, which helps to confirm the reading.

6 These lines plainly indicate the desolation of Dilmun. Note that 'clean, pure' is frequently used in incantations in the sense of 'desolate.' Cf. my paper *Le Bouc Émissaire*, JA. July, 1903, on ASKT. xix. 19.

7 *áš-ni-ne* 'lonely'; cf. Obv. ii., 20. Langdon's reading *be* for *ne* is not correct, as the prefix is the demonstrative *ne*, not *be*.

11 *banda-ná-ba*, see n. 1 above.

13 *ú-nag-ga-ġu*; is this 'raven'? NAM-CAR = *aribu* = 'raven,' as a rule.

14 *dar-ġu-e* probably 'cock,' seen in *tarnugallu*, rather than 'kite' (L.). Langdon's reference to Muss-Arnolt, Lex. 129a, is not correct. Cf. Rev. iii. 47.

15 *ur-gu-la* 'lion,' syn. of *ur-maġ*. *Nu-ub-ra-ra* written *te-ub-ra-ra* by scribal error.

16 *kar-ri*, not *qar* (L.). This *kar* = *ekêmu* 'seize.'

17 *gam-gam* 'crouching' = continued action.

18 *tu(d)* 'mother' (animal); *še-kur-kur-e* 'in order to eat,' not 'while eating' (L.).

19 *numun-zu* = *numun* + *zu* = *su* 'body'; probably 'seed'

¹ The following abbreviations have been used:

ASKT. = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*; CT. = "Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum"; D.L. = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1914; HT. = ASKT.; JA. = *Journal Asiatique*; L. = Langdon, "Sumerian Epic of Paradise"; M. = Bruno Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, Leipzig, 1910; PSBA. = "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology"; R. = Rawlinson, "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia."

of the body.' *dim-sil(r)-ra-bi* probably 'little lambs'; 'she produces no more seed of her body to create little lambs' (?).

21 *sag-šub* = *nadû* 'place, lay.'

26 *ki-el* clearly means 'girl, virgin,' as seen by the connection with the following lines. *ki-el* means literally 'pure place,' in the sense 'girl,' refers to virginity. *a-nu-tû-a-ni* 'where no water is poured' has probably a sexual meaning = where no generation takes place.

27 *bal* = *ebêru* not necessarily 'changed' (L.). No man has crossed a canal; this also probably has a sexual sense; cf. Obv. i., 35, however, where the allusion to each of canals is clearly direct.

28 The unknown ideogram X probably refers to the office of the *libir* (*ligir*).

29 *lu-l-e e-lu-lam* = *e-lul-am*. Note *lu-lul* 'liar,' HT. 127, 53.

32 *mu-e* 2 p.; but cf. Prince, Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., LIV, p. 42. 'A fate thou hast set' = 'thou hast fixed the time of its end.' *mu-sum-ma-za*; lit. 'when thou hast settled a fate for it' (*za* = oblique case).

OBVERSE II.

1 *gir-ma-an-gal-la* probably for *gir-gan-gal-la* = 'place' (*gir* = *urzu* 'road'; *padanu* 'path') 'of great fields' = 'territory.'

4 The stagnant pools after the desolation.

11 Probably refers to the moongod; the promise of fulfillment of the prayer.

19 *i(NI)-de-šu* 'now'; *ur* (XUR) 'verily.'

20 *áš-ni* 'only one' = 'unique'; cf. Obv. i., 7: *áš-ni-ne* 'lonely.' GIŠ-KU-PI-GI, M. 10779: *uznu* 'ear.' I render 'knowledge, intelligence' here and Obv. ii., 22.

21 *kalam-ma* 'land'; = Sumer throughout.

24 *uš-a-ni* here and Obv. ii., 26, no doubt, to be read *umuš-a-ni*, D. L. 53 = *šêmu* (L. ib., n. 4). *dun* = *pitû* 'open, reveal.'

25 I cannot place the ideogram read *kas* here by Langdon. The sign does not seem to be *kas*. Langdon's rendering: 'his revelation in the reedhouse as a decision he rendered unto her' is, to say the least, obscure.

26 *bar-šû* common ideogram for *ina axâti* (*passim*) 'on one side'; probably 'privately, secretly.' *šabaran-zi-zi: zi-zi* 'cause to come'; hence, 'bring to, impart.'

27 *mà-ra* 'so far as I am concerned.' The *dib* here is very obscure. Its primary meaning is seize = *cabātu*. The sense seems to be: 'so far as I am concerned, no person shall be taken,' not necessarily 'rescued, saved' (?), Langdon: 'enters not'; cf. however, PSBA, 1914, 256.

30 *ná-a*; Langdon, I think, is right = *šuni'il* 'cause to lie down.'

32 *ri* = *raxâcu* (*irxic*) 'inundate'; cf. Obv. iii., 13, not especially in a hostile sense.

33-42 I do not understand Langdon's rendering here: 'the first day whose month is the first; the second day whose month is the second,' etc. This phrase must be idiomatic for 'the first day of the first month,' etc. The poet is counting the months of the inundation until its culmination (not cessation, L.; *sal* = *rapâšu* 'spread') in the ninth month.

43 *ja*(NI)-*lu*(m) seems to mean fat; *ja*(NI) = 'oil' and *lu*(m) = 'plenty' (of oil). *ja*(NI)-*dug-nun-na*; literally 'much (nun) good (dug) oil' (*ja* = NI). The allusion can be only to plenty, and not to corpses, of which the context makes no mention.

OBVERSE III.

1, 5, 8 Jastrow reads *ⁿNin-šar* for *ⁿNin-tu*.

2 Langdon is surely right in his revised translation, where he renders this line as above translated instead of: '(for me) they are reckoned.' *E-ne* is the demonstrative 'this one' and not the plural here. Jastrow *zuk-ra* for *mà-ra* here and 22 is hardly possible.

3 *ⁿIsimu*; thus Langdon in his revised translation instead of *guda*(?). *ne* = 'this thing, thus.'

4 *galu-dumu* = 'man-son' = 'son of man' = 'this human being.' *numun* 'seed.'

11 *gu-ma*; Langdon two "humbles"! What does this mean? *gu-ma* is probably an enumerative; 2 *gu-ma maškim-ma* simply 'two guards' (*maškim* = *râbicu* 'watcher' is, of course, a supernatural guard). Note that *gu* = 'entirely' + *ma* = *mar*; cf. D. L. 105: *gu-mar* = *gu-gar* = *napzaru* 'entirety.' Here 2 *gu-ma* merely means *zwei Stück*! Jastrow notes that the sign for *maškim* = ⅔, but it is intended for *maškim* here.

12 An obscure phrase; it cannot mean 'caulked the ship' (L.); *taḫ* only means 'to double'; 'he strengthened the front'

(*gaba*) = 'strengthened the outside.' *gibil imman-te(g)* 'he purified(?) with fire'; probably a ritual observance.

15-17 The remaining months (cf. Obv. ii., 34; 43; iii., 14) are omitted for brevity.

27 These lines should duplicate Obv. iii., 4-5: *nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*, but here we find *su in-X-ni* perhaps 'make him the continuation (?) of thy body' (SU for ZU). The necessity of a synonym is apparent.

39 This passage begins a new theme; *sal-ni-dim* (PAP-PAP) may mean 'accept, agree,' regarding *sal-dim* as a compound strengthener of *dim* = *rakâsu* 'bind.' Tag-ku is probably better than Tag-tug (see above, Introduction).

40 *Nin-tu-ri*, subject with apparently indicative *ri* like the Georgian *man-case*.

41 *na-ga-e-ri*; here *ri* may = 'wash.' *ri* = 'inundate' (Obv. iii., 13), but the context requires here that Nin-tu should take care of Tag-ku. Her inundation (*ri*) is to be a beneficent one and he is to be sacred, and immune from harm.

43 'This is the only man (*galu âš-âm*) who has been allotted for me.'

REVERSE I.

18, 19, 35, 36, 46, 47 Jastrow doubts the readings *E-bara* and *E-rab*.

20 KU-*šu-nun*-KU-tu-mu 'my guide' (L.). According to Langdon, a title of Girra, the god of flocks = *ša si-ma-ni*, CT. xxiv. 42; 95. This ideogram usually = *šummanu* 'hobble-ropes' (Muss-Arnolt, 1060). "Guide" is an uncertain translation here.

21 *gu-ma*; supply *maškim-ma*, as in Obv. iii., 11.

25 KI.UD; (L.) *kislağ* 'place of the sun'; hence 'dried up.'

27 *gú-zal*(NI); is this *pirištu* L, n. 4?

37 *mudur* 'sceptre,' D. L. 191: 'with a sceptre he confronts him' (*gaba*).

41 Tag-ku now appears as the new cultivator.

44 *sal-ni-dim*(PAP.PAP) here and in Reverse I. 48 in the sense 'accept'; cf. Obv. iii., 39.

45 *gar-ra-na* 'as his gift'; *gar* = *šarâqu*, D. L. 80.

48 *sal-ni-dim* (PAP.PAP); cf. Rev. I. 44 and Obv. iii., 39.

REVERSE II.

18 Langdon: 'something it is'; better in his revised translation: 'what is that?'

20-22 *û-giš* may refer to vegetation with edible leaves. It certainly does not mean 'fruit' (L. n. 1), as Rev. ii., 22 gives *û-gurun* (= *inbu*), which is clearly fruit.

26 *û-a-gug* (P.A.SAR). Langdon: 'prickly plants.' Why?

34-38 *û am-ġa-ru*, M. 3073: *kasû*, CT. xiv. 18; 26 probably = *ka-si* PSBA, 1914, 192, which is generally considered to be cassia (*κασία*). Langdon presupposes here a prohibition as to this plant, but none appears in the text unless we see an implicit prohibition in 36: the plant whose fate he (the Moongod) had determined, or in the fact that the *amġaru* did not belong to any of the permitted plants indicated. It is certain that a curse (*nam-erim*) falls on it in Rev. i., 37.

38 Langdon: 'until he dies' is wrong; it must be: 'at the time when he dies' = *ba-ug(?) -gî-a*, the time when being expressed by the overhanging *-a*. The value *ug(?)* is better than *dig(?)*. Possibly *bag* is correct(?).

40 *ġuš-a*; D. L. 218: 'terribly, angrily.'

41 and 43 Langdon does not seem to know that in English "beget" can be used only of a male: The goddess is speaking.

44 *giš-mul* may = *giš-gal* 'thrones,' not 'creatures' (L. n. 1: *šiknati*).

45-47 Probably a description of the similarity of the favourite Tagku to the rest of mankind. Tagku is to appear as the teacher of agriculture, but not in divine guise. *áš-ám* = *dîš-ám* = *mazârîš* 'similarly'; like other men.

REVERSE III.

20 *li-ag* may = *li* in *li-tar* = 'Acht haben,' D. L. 170. Langdon leaves this line untranslated.

24 *a-ra-gig*; the *-ra-* is no doubt 2 p.

25ff. *ma-gig*; *ma* probably contains the idea 'for me' = 1 p.

26 *Ab-û*, probably Tammuz (L.).

30 and 32 KA here and in Rev. iii., 32 = 'speech' or 'mouth.' Probably 'mouth' in 32, as Ninkasi (33) = 'lady of the full mouth' or 'she who fills the mouth.' The allusion must be to hunger; cf., however, Rev. iii., 40.

34 *na-zi* 'the thing of life' = 'genitals'(?).

36 *da-zi*; I cannot translate.

38 *ti* = principle of life; 'semen' (?). L.: 'health.'

40 *mê-mu*; *me* can mean 'power of speech,' but here prob-

ably 'command,' i. e., it is difficult for him to understand the divine command; hence 'judgment.' L: 'understanding.'

41 *En-šag-me* 'lord who makes good the *me*' (command). Jastrow doubts this reading.

42 Jastrow reads *tu-ne-en-na šur-ra* for *tu-ne-en-na-aš gar-ra*, but it is probably *-aš gar*.

45-50 These lines are very unclear. They seem to contain the prayer that certain gods shall be merged into others, so far as their qualities are concerned. In 47, *umun-dar-a* (L, no translation) appears to mean 'lord of the cock' (cf. Obv. i., 14). There must be paronomastie association in the following equations:

dNin-KA-ù-tu; *dNin-a-za*, 45

dNin-ka-si; *dNin-šag-si*, 46

dDa-zi-ma; *zim*, 48

dNin-(ti); *dNin-iti-a*, 49

51 *zag-sal* = *tanittu*, D. L. 22 'loftiness'; the final doxology, 'Glory be'!

A Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' (Sīstān), by Dr. EDWARD W. WEST (deceased).—Presented by Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.

The accompanying transliteration and translation of the Pahlavi Treatise *Afāyā va-Sāyakih-i Damīg-i Sagastān*, 'Wonders of the Land of Sagastān' (mod. Sīstān) was made in 1898 by the distinguished Pahlavi scholar, Dr. Edward W. West, who received election to the Society in 1899, in its Honorary List, as Corresponding Member, and who died in 1905. The communication, here reproduced, he sent to me in the form of a personal letter, dated January 7, 1898, at the time when I was engaged in special researches with regard to the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, afterwards published in book form and dedicated to Dr. West.

As he and I had talked together so often on Iranian subjects and had interchanged so many letters on matters relating to Zoroastrianism, it seems appropriate that I should be permitted to make available to scholars the main contents of this letter from him among those which passed in our correspondence. It must be borne in mind, however, that he sent it merely incidentally, in answer to an inquiry, as bearing on certain other problems in regard to which we were corresponding with each other (for his readiness ever to help fellow-workers in the field was far-known); and it must equally be remembered that the letter was written seventeen years ago, or some seven years before his death. It is quite possible, therefore, if his great activity had been longer spared to scholarship, that he would have modified or changed this or that point in his interpretation of certain difficult or obscure passages in the Pahlavi text involved. Yet I believe that a scholar so profound and accurate, so cautious and well-balanced would have allowed his version to stand in the main, as contributing something toward the elucidation of several matters connected with Zoroastrian tradition.

In his enclosure, under date mentioned above, Dr. West wrote as follows:

"My dear Professor: Thanks for your reference to the 'Wonders of Sagastān,' which had slipped out of my memory.—As the writer of this

short text seems to have fully adopted the idea that Sagastān was an important scene of Vishtāsp's propagation of the religion, I have thought it best to send you a complete transliteration and translation of this text enclosed.—It is somewhat difficult and obscure in places, as you will see; and its date is uncertain, but say from A. D. 900 to 1200, so it is only a reminiscence of old traditions; but more of this after other matters."

At this point in his letter Dr. West turned aside to devote a page to answering several inquiries of mine with regard to the text and interpretation of three or four passages in other Pahlavi works (Dēnkart 7. 4. 31, cf. *SBE.* xlvii. 57; Dk. 7. 4. 66; Dk. 7. 3. 51; and Zsp. 21. 2).

He then returned to a discussion of the age of the Pahlavi manuscript (Codex J), that belonged to Dastur Jamaspji, which contains the 'Wonders' and is apparently an early copy of a still older transcript, and traceable ultimately back to the original text. This important codex (J) comprises also the well-known Pahlavi treatises 'Memoir of Zarīrān' and the 'Cities of Irān,' besides the work under consideration. The three were edited and published together in 1897 by its owner, the late Parsi High Priest Jamaspji, under the title: *Pahlavi Texts I, edited by Jamaspji Dastur Minochaheerji Jamasp-Azana, Bombay, 1897.* On the subject of the date of the copy and its contents Dr. West expressed himself as follows:

"Regarding the age of the texts in Codex J. The colophon at the end of the Codex was written by Mitrō-āpān-i Kaf-Khusrō in 1322, but (as in the case of K 20) J may be a very early copy of M K's transcript whose colophon is lost.—The first text, the Yāḡkār-i Zarīrān, was copied by M K from his great-uncle Rūstam's transcript of Dēnō-panāh's MS. mentioned below.—The second text, Founders of the cities of Irān, must have been composed long after the time of the latest founder, Abū-Jāfar, called Abū-davānig, who founded Bagdād in 764. The Wonders of Sagastān is the third text, whose writer is not named, and the following 14 texts (see 'Pahl. Liter.' in [Geiger and Kuhn's] *Grundriss*, §§ 97-100 [69] 70-75) also supply no names or dates.—Then come two colophons referring to all these Yāḡkārān, or Memoranda (see *Grundriss* § 76); the first is Dēnō-panāh's, the imperfect date of which seems to be equivalent to A. D. 1255, written at Broach; the second is M K's of 1322, written 3 months and 8 days before his final colophon. The dates of Rūstam's copies are not mentioned, but he copied others in 1269 in Irān and in 1278 in India.—The compiler of the Wonders of Sagastān was probably the priest who reports the simplicity of ritual there in § 9, and he may have been very recent, even as late as the original Sagastān Pahl. Vend. of Hōmāst, from which a copy was made in 1205 for transmission to Aūchak in the Panjāb, which was copied by Rūstam, and M K's transcript of this copy is now K₁."

Thus far the preliminary part of Dr. West's letter as prefacing his transcription and translation of the Pahlavi text. But before reproducing these it may be well to quote his earlier description of the treatise, as found in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 118 (Strassburg, 1904), which runs as follows:

"A short text of 290 words about the Wonders of Sagastân, or Sistân, among which it mentions the river Aētumend [i. e. Hetumand], the lake Frazlân, the sea Kyānsih, the mountain Aūshdāsh-tār, and the birth of the religion, and of his conferences with Zaratūst; also of the proceed-Aīrich, son of Frēdūn, and the scene of Vishtāsp's first propagation of the religion, and of his conferences with Zaratūst; also of the proceedings of Sēnō-i Ahūmstān of Būst (*būstīg*) and his disciples, who issued various Nasks, for religious instruction."

Those who knew well Dr. West's scholarly acumen, his critical method, and his conscientious manner of work, will best appreciate having an exact reproduction, by autotype process, of the most important part of his letter of January 7, 1898—the transliteration and translation of the 'Wonders,' especially as this reproduction served likewise to recall the fine minuscule handwriting of the distinguished savant.

By way of supplement it is important here to draw attention to the wholly independent translation of the 'Wonders' into English and Gujarati by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi of Bombay, which was published a year later than the time when Dr. West's letter was written to me, and its preface is dated April 30th, 1899. It was the first rendering actually to appear in print and has remained the only one available until the West translation of a year earlier (1898) is now reproduced in autograph facsimile as above. It was issued together with the other two Pahlavi treatises, already referred to, under the combined title *Aiyādgar-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, and Afdiyâ-ve-Sahigiya-i-Sistân, Translated with Notes*, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1899. I feel sure that my friend Dr. Modi, like other Iranists, will welcome the opportunity of consulting the deceased scholar's transcription and interpretation of the text.

From Codex J. (letters underlined with red are missing in original). 1.
Pavan sham-i yarzdân.

1. Afêlîh va-sâyakîh-î damîg-î Sagastân min
avârîg shatrôihâ hanâ râi avîrtar va-shapîn.
2. Ârvakô denâ, âegh rûd-î Hêtmand¹ va-var-î
Frazdân² var-zarêh-î Kayânsih³ var-gar-î Âlîsh-
dâshthâr⁴ tîn damîg-î Sagastân; zarkhûnîshn
va-parvarîshn-î Âlîshêdar va-Âlîshêdar-mâh
f. 26b. va-Sâyôshâns-î Zaratûshthân-î Spîtâmân,
afash ristâkherê kardânô. 3. Ârvak denâ, âegh
padvand tâkhamak-î Kayân⁵ dahyûpatân-î pavan
denâ kêshvar. 4. Vazand âubash mad min farzandân
-î Frêdûn: Salm mîn kêshvar-î Ârûm, va Tâj
mîn Tûrkîstân pavan khûdâh dâst: Âlîrîc Âlîrân
dahyûpat hûd, afash barâ zagtâlînt, va-min
farzandân-î Âlîrîc, barâ kanîk-1, hânô âesh

In the name of the sacred beings.

1. The wonderfulness and protectiveness, on account of which the land of Sagastân is superior and better than other provinces. 2. One reason is this, that the river Hêtmand¹, the lake Frazdân², the sea Kayânsih³, and the mountain Âlîshdâshthâr⁴ are in the land of Sagastân; also the birth and education of Âlîshêdar, Âlîshêdar-mâh, and of Sâyôshâns, descendant of Zaratûshth of the Spîtâmas, likewise his production of the resurrection. 3. One reason is this, that it is the lineal race of the Kayân⁵ rulers which is in this region. 4. Disaster came to it from the sons of Frêdûn: Salm who held the region of Ârûm, and Tâj who held Tûrkîstân at dominion: Âlîrîc was ruler of Îrân, and they slew him; of the children of Âlîrîc, except one girl, no one else

2.

barâ lâ ketrînt; va-akhar Frêdûn val var-i
 Frazdân yezherûnân va-pavan nîhân dâst vad
 dahûm padvand⁶. 5. Amat min zag kanîk berâ
 zerkhûnâd, akhar Frêdûn val var-i Frazdân
 varînt; afash min Ardvisûr Anâhît ayâft
 barîkhûnt; va-pavan lakhvâr ârastânô-i Airân
 5.27a. shatrô va-gadât⁷ i Kayân, avârig yezdân, min bîn
 Sagastân gâs mâhmânêh, avartâr ayâft vindâd,
 levatê Mânushcêhar⁸ va-valâshân Airân âfrînô.
 6. Âvâk danê, âyêh Vishtâsp shah dênô pavan var-
 î Frazdân kard rûbâkêh, avlâ pavan Sagastân,
 va-akhar pavan avârig shatrôihâ, va-Vishtâsp
 shah, pavan ham-pûrsogihê Zaratûst, va-Pênô⁹ i
 Ahûmstûtân-î Bûstê¹⁰, cigûnash hâvishtân-î

remained; and Frêdûn then conveyed her to lake
 Frazdân, and kept her in concealment till the tenth
 generation⁶. 5. When a son had been born from that
 girl, Frêdûn then went to lake Frazdân, and he
 begged a boon from Ardvisûr Anâhît; also, on the
 restoration of the country of Irân and the kingly
 glory, he obtained the higher boon of the other sacred
 beings, owing to hospitality on the Sagastân throne,
 together with Mânushcêhar⁸ and their blessing of Irân.
 6. One reason is this, that king Vishtâsp produced
 the progress of religion on lake Frazdân, first in
 Sagastân, and afterwards in the other provinces;
 also king Vishtâsp, in conference with Zaratûst,
 and Pênô⁹, son of Ahûmstût of Bûst¹⁰, because his
 disciples of

Zaratusht avlâ pavan dêr- hâvishtânih-i valâ yehvîent havâd, dênô-i Sagastân val câshthô rûbâk dâshthanô râi, nask nask pavan dîdak-i shapîrân frâz sagîtûnt. 7. Nasg-1 Guvah- Pên-icô¹¹ karêtûnd, cîgûn Pên Bûrîz- Mitro¹²-i Zaratushtân, pavan vî-f. 27^b. -râstakîhtî-zag, yehvînt-î âyâkân¹³. 8. Amat gujastak Aleksandar-î Arûmâ val Âlîrân shatrô mad, valâshân mûn pavan barîsh-î Mîg-mardîh sagîtûnt girift zagtâlûnt, gabrâ va-rîdak âe-cand val Sagastân yâtûnt havâd. 9. Nasg-1 yehvînt-î nêshâân, bîd-î apornâyîg-1 nasg-1; Guvah- Pên-icô¹¹ angîdanô narm-kard yegavîmîndat; pavan-mâ zag râh dênô bîn Sagastân lakhvâr sagîtûnt, ârâst va-vîrâst navak navak barâ pavan Sagastân,

Zaratusht have been first in his long discipleship, made the various Nasks proceed in a family of the good, for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastân progressive for being taught. 7. One Nask they call Guvah- Pên-icô ["the witness is even Pên"]¹¹, because Pên and Bûrîz- Mitro¹², son of Zaratusht, through the restoration of that, became of the coming ones¹³.

8. When the accursed Alexander of Arûm came to the country of Irân, he seized and slew those who walked in the splendour of Magianism; but several men and youths have come to Sagastân. 9. There was one Nask of the women, and it was the one Nask of a child; the production of the Guvah- Pên-icô¹¹ was made easy (i.e. learnt by heart); even in that way the ritual travelled back into Sagastân, arranged and restored even anew in Sagastân only,

4.

aišmaš avāriy diwāk lā narm; li mūn pavan
 xay diwāy hamāk-dēnō-1 yezbekhiund, shādihē
 gōharikānīh rāi, Hādōkht-dē farmāyānd: Sagistān!

f. 28a. 10. [Kolophon]. Fraxaft pavan shnom[†] shādihē,
 nāmishn^{shādihē} va-fareukhō va-dēr-zivishn va-pīrtishn
 va-aharūšō-kāmāk-anjām yehwīnād, mūn nīpišt,
 mūn nafshā, va-mūn karitūnād; Ashem.

in another place it was then not easy (i.e. not learnt)
 in that place whoever celebrate all the religious rites
through me, for the pleasure of the generous, after
 one Hādōkht they bid me go.

10. [Kolophon]. Completed with satisfaction, pleasure
 and joy; may he be happy and fortunate, long living
 and triumphant, and accomplishing his righteous desire,
 who wrote it, who owns it, and who reads it. Righteousness
 is perfect excellence.

1 Bd. ~~XX~~, 17. 2 Bd. ~~XXII~~, 5. 3 Bd. ~~XIII~~, 16. 4 Bd. ~~XII~~, 15.

5 Bd. ~~XXI~~, 7. 6 Bd. ~~XXXI~~, 9-11. 7 Compare Yt. V, 34, 108.

8 Bd. ~~XXXI~~, 12. 9 Yt. ~~XIII~~, 57. 10 Described by the
 pseudo-Ibn-Batkal as on the river Hermand,
 between Ghār and the lake (see Quiseley's Oriental Geography
 p. 206). 11 This name, which is written 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, has
 some resemblance to 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Ganabā-sar-nijōd,
 'the thief's head downstricken'; the name of the sixteenth
 Naak; and references to women and children will be
 found in its contents, as stated in S.B.E. ~~XXXVII~~, ~~xxi~~ 2;
~~xxii~~, 1, 2, 4, 5, 21; but the reason for the name, given in this
 text, though vague, has no reference to thieves.

12 Not yet identified, but this son of a priest named Zardak,
 probably lived some time after Sān who died A.R. 200.

13. Can also be read Ashkām, as if referring to the Parthian
 dynasty. The whole sentence is very obscure.
 January 7th 1898. EMMest

The Sumerian View of Beginnings.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

As the result of an independent study of an important and unusually interesting Sumerian text recently published by Dr. Stephen Langdon, of Oxford,¹ I have reached an interpretation differing entirely from that proposed by the industrious editor. As indicated by the title of his publication, Dr. Langdon believes that the text contains a Sumerian account of Paradise, of the Flood, and of the Fall of Man. According to my interpretation, the text is an incantation, incidental to which Sumerian myths are introduced which set forth the Sumerian view of the beginnings of things, but there is no description of Paradise in this text nor any reference to a Flood, nor does it touch in any way on such a problem as the Fall of Man. Since some time may elapse before I shall have the opportunity of publishing my paper on the subject in full, I wish to set forth the results at once in a brief summary, both because of the importance of the text itself and of the widespread interest that it has aroused, and also in the hope that my suggestions may lead other scholars to take up the text without delay and help in the solution of the many difficulties which it presents. Let me add, that I have no personal controversy with the first interpreter of the text, the discovery and publication of which entitle him to the gratitude of his colleagues. I have merely reached different conclusions as a result of my study. My readings of the text, I should add, involving quite a number of important corrections of Dr. Langdon's publication, are based on a collation of the tablet made with the coöperation of my student, Dr. Edward Chiera, of the University of Pennsylvania. In the complete paper all these new readings will be fully indicated.

¹ *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. X, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1915). See also two preliminary articles on the tablet by Dr. Langdon: (1) "Preliminary Account of a Sumerian Version of the Flood and the Fall of Man" (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1914, pages 188-198. (2) "An Account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man," *ib.* pp. 253-263.

1. The text, as Langdon himself recognized in a general way, stands in close relation to the fragment published by Dr. Poebel about two years ago in his volume of *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (Publications of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. V, Philadelphia, 1914, plate 1). According to Poebel's interpretation this tablet contains an account of Creation and then passes on to a description of the Flood. A comparison of Poebel's fragment with Langdon's text shows that both consist of three columns on the obverse and on the reverse, and, what is particularly striking, the width of the two tablets is exactly the same. Both texts are in Sumerian and the character of the writing is identical. Besides some analogous expressions common to both tablets, the name of the place which Dr. Langdon reads as Dilmun occurs in Dr. Poebel's text (column 6, line 12) written with what may be a phonetic complement *na*, precisely as at the close of Langdon's text (column 6, line 50). The two texts evidently belong to a series, and if this be admitted, the fact that in Poebel's text a full account of the flood is given, with Ziugiddu as the hero who escapes, makes it unlikely that Langdon's text should also contain, as he believes, an account of the Deluge. Of the two texts, Langdon's comes first, and I believe Poebel's represents a direct successor. If, therefore, Langdon's tablet is the first of a series, Poebel's would be the second. Let us hope that a further search among the Nippur collection of the University of Pennsylvania fragments will result in completing Poebel's tablet.

2. Langdon's text, according to my interpretation, begins with a description of a time when the earth existed, with mountains and even cities, to be eventually inhabited, but before there was any animal or human life in the world. The gods are in existence in a particular place, described as "holy" and designated as a "mountain," with "country" and "city" used apparently as synonyms. The god Enki (identified with Ea, the great god of the waters) and his consort are represented as dwelling in the place "alone."

3. The name of the mountain in which the god and goddess dwell is read by Langdon "Dilmun," but he himself admits (page 8, note 1) that the sign used is not the one ordinarily read as Dilmun. Poebel is more cautious, and while suggesting the possibility of Dilmun, does not accept it as a certainty

(page 61 of his translation and discussion of 'Historical and Grammatical Texts'). I doubt very much whether Dilmun is intended, the only point in favor of this interpretation being the use of the syllable *na* after the compound ideograph in Poebel's text and in *one* instance in Langdon's text. (See above under 1.) This, however, in itself cannot be regarded as conclusive. Langdon's view (following Jensen) that Dilmun is not, as is supposed by the majority of Assyriologists, an island in the Persian Gulf, but to be sought for on the eastern shore, will be fully discussed in my paper.

4. The text being a poem, we must be prepared for poetic language. What Langdon takes for a description of Paradis , where animals lived in peaceful tranquility, where there were no diseases and where people did not grow old (column 1, lines 13-25), I take as a poetical description of the time when no animals and no human beings existed. When it is said that "the raven did not croak, and the kite did not shriek," that "the lion did not kill and the wolf did not plunder," it is simply a poetic way of saying that neither birds of prey nor animals of prey existed in the place where a god and goddess dwelt, as the text specifically says "alone," (lines 7 and 10). The same applies to the domestic animals enumerated in the following lines, and similarly when the text tells us that "one did not say 'eye disease,'" nor "headache," the conclusion to be drawn is that no demons of disease existed, because there were no people to catch the disease; or to put it in the Sumerian way, there were no people into whose bodies demons could enter. People "did not say 'Father' and 'Mother'" (not necessarily "old man" and "old woman," as Langdon renders the Sumerian terms), because there were neither parents to address nor children to address them—a poetical way, again, of saying that there were no people in the world. This is the reverse of what we find in Sumerian lamentation hymns where, in order to contrast the present desolation with former joys, it is said that in former times the wife said "My husband," the maiden said "My brother," the mother said "My child," the young girl said "My father," etc. (see Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 292), to indicate that there were husbands, brothers, children and fathers in those days.

5. The reason for the absence of animals and human life is indicated in column 1, line 26, where it is specifically said

that "in the holy place no water flowed," and that "no water was poured out in the city." In substantiation of this we find (lines 31 to end of column 1) Ninella, who appears to be both daughter and consort of Enki, complaining to her father that he has founded a city, but that the city (line 35) "has no canal." She appeals to him (column 2, lines 1-6) to give the city sweet or drinking water in abundance, and in accord with this we find (column 2, lines 12-19) Enki changing the gathering of "bitter waters" into "sweet waters."

6. There follows what is perhaps the most interesting feature of the tablet (column 2, lines 21-32), the scene, described with primitive frankness, of the copulation of the god Enki and his consort Nintu or Nintud (whose name means 'goddess of birth'), as a result of which (line 33) the fields are "inundated." This point of view, according to which fertility arises as a result of the union, or the marriage, between a god and a goddess, is familiar to us in primitive myths, and it is sufficient in this summary to refer for many such examples to J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. II, chapter XI ("The Influence of the Sexes on Vegetation") and chapter XII § 2 ("The Marriage of the Gods").

7. Dr. Langdon, having failed to understand the passage just referred to, takes the description following, in lines 34 to the end of column 2, as an account of the Deluge. All, however, that is actually indicated in these lines is that the fields were inundated, or, as the text says, "received the waters of Enki," for one day in each of nine months. This ninth month is described (line 42) by two signs indicating "productiveness" and "water." It looks to me as though there were suggested here in the myth an analogy between the duration of the rainy season and the nine months of pregnancy. Line 43 of this column, reading, "Like fat, like fat, like rich (or 'good') cream" (not "tallow," as Dr. Langdon proposes), has reference to the abundant vegetation that follows upon the rainy season²; and to place the matter beyond all doubt, it is expressly said that it is Nintu ("the goddess of birth") who has "brought forth."

² Dr. Langdon (p. 6) interprets this single line to mean that all mankind, after the deluge of nine months, "dissolved in the waters like tallow and fat." Apart from the improbability of such an explanation of the metaphor, the comparison is somewhat unfortunate; the one thing that fat and tallow do not do is to dissolve in water.

8. In column 3 the same description of the "fields receiving the waters of Enki," with the inundation extending over a period of nine months (only one day in each month being specifically named), occurs twice, and it is evident that there is also associated with it a symbolism connecting this inundation with the resultant fertility. The goddess Ninshar³ calls upon Enki to show favor to her, whereupon Usmû,⁴ the messenger to Enki, is directed to perform apparently some purification rite both for the goddess and for the "son of man," here used in a generic sense for mankind. It is in connection with this somewhat obscure "purification ceremony" that Enki, addressed by his messenger as "my king," makes for a boat which is described as sinking two-thirds of its bulk as it floats on the waters, after which we have the passage of Enki, inundating the fields. The boat, I take it, is the one in which the god, as the genius presiding over the waters, sails, and to which there are numerous references in Cuneiform texts, e. g., in the Syllabary K. 4378 (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 88, col. V, 31).

9. At the close of column 3, the goddess Nintu and a god whose name may be read either Tag-Tug or Shum-tug or Tag-tush, or Tak-Ku⁵ are introduced, but in a passage too obscure to be briefly treated in this summary. Suffice it to say, however, that there is no reason to assume that Takku is anything but a god. His name is written with the usual determinative for deity, and in order to convert him into a human being Langdon translates the determinative and thus obtains "the divine Tag-Tug." In this way any god can be transformed into a human being.⁶

³ So the reading is, clearly, throughout col. III (except line 40) in lines 1, 5, 8, and not Nintu (or Nintud), as Langdon reads. Ninshar may, however, be merely a variant name for Nintu, just as Nin-Kur (col. III, lines 21, 25, 28), "Lady of the Mountain," appears to be.

⁴ Or Isimu—written Kur-Igi-gunu-Nun-Me. The signs in lines 3, 6, 23, 26, as well as col. V, lines 16 and 19, clearly give the name of the god Usmû or Isimu (Cuneiform Texts 24, Pl. 16, 45, where Kur Igi-gunu-Nun-Me = Usmû is specifically named as the "Messenger of Enki"). See also Meissner, *Seltene Assy. Ideogramme*, No. 688 and the passages quoted by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspalmen*, p. 49 seq.

⁵ This, I think, is the correct reading.

⁶ All that Langdon says on this point (p. 55, Note 1) is beside the mark; and the same applies to his note 2 on p. 51. In col. V, as in col.

10. Column 4, though badly mutilated at the beginning, clearly contains further references to the irrigation and inundation of the fields, as a result of which the earth is in bloom. The significance of the scene described in the closing portion of this column, in which the god Enki is represented as coming to the god Takku (or however his name is to be read) and knocking at the door of the latter's temple, and, upon its being opened, announcing himself as a gardener offering his fruits for sale(?) (line 42), I confess is not clear to me, but there is evidently here again some symbolism suggesting the rich return of fruits that comes as a result of the filling of the canals and water courses. I am inclined to believe that the harvest rejoicing is more or less symbolically described, but I am not at all sure of this.

11. Column 5 gives a most interesting account of the way in which Usmû, the messenger of Enki, instructs some one—presumably the first man or mankind—in the use of plants and trees. Usmû assigns names to the various plants, which, according to the Sumerian as well as the Babylonian idea, is equivalent to fixing their fate, or, as we should say, determining their character. Eight plants and trees are named, divided into two groups: such as grow above the ground, the fruits of which are, therefore, "cut," and such as grow below the ground, which are "plucked out." The scene suggests the famous passage in Berosus,⁷ embodying the ancient Babylonian tradition of the mythical being Oannes (the water god Enki or Ea) coming out of the water and giving instruction to mankind in all kinds of things, *including agriculture*.⁸ The last of the plants named is Am-Ha-Ru, which, on the basis of Cuneiform Texts 14, Pl. 18, Obv. 26,⁹ Langdon correctly identifies as "cassia"; but all that he says about this being "the forbidden fruit" is

III, "my king" always refers to Enki. This Tag-tug (assuming this to be the reading) has no connection whatsoever with Langdon's supposed deluge, for he is not mentioned at all till the close of col. III. To connect him with the "deluge," Langdon has to assume that he is referred to as "my king" (col. 3, 9 and 29).

⁷ Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 21 seq.

⁸ The Greek text says, "sowing and harvesting of fruits."

⁹ Am-Ha-Ra = ka-su-u. See also *Cuneiform Texts* 14, Pl. 33 (K. 9182, 5) and Pl. 27, (S. 1846, 7) and Kiechler, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Medizin*, KK 71, etc. III, 50 (p. 32) where Am-Ha-Ra occurs as an ingredient in a concoction prescribed for the consequence of a "jag."

erroneous. There is no question of any forbidden fruit in the passage (column 5, lines 20-36). In regard to *all* eight plants it is said that they may be eaten, being either "cut off" or "plucked out." As long as Langdon had merely the lower fragment of the reverse before him (when he wrote his preliminary article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 1914), containing the reference to the single plant, cassia, there was some justification for his guess that the tablet contained an account of the eating of some forbidden fruit, but he should at once have abandoned this idea upon seeing that the other part of column 5 spoke of seven other plants in exactly the same way as of the cassia.¹⁰ Quite apart from everything else, it is unlikely that of all plants the cassia should have been set down in any myth as a forbidden fruit. For the Oriental cassia, which has made its way in the form of senna leaves to all parts of the world, is one of the oldest as well as one of the most useful of ancient drugs; and fortunately is one of the few mentioned in the Babylonian-Assyrian medical texts that can be identified with certainty.¹¹ No people would even make an indispensable drug a forbidden plant.

The cassia is mentioned in this list of eight plants just because of its great importance and usefulness; and this, no doubt, holds good also of the other seven enumerated, which, so far as they are intelligible, will be discussed in my paper.

11. At the close of column 5, the doom of man, that he must die, appears to be announced, but not as a result of any act of disobedience. Both in the story of Adapa and in the Gilgamesh account, we find the Sumerian and Babylonian view clearly set forth, that when the gods created man "they decreed death for him, and kept life in their own hands."¹² Some of

¹⁰ Even the verb in line 34, in connection with Am-Ha-Ru or cassia, is the same as in lines 20, 22 (and to be supplied, lines 24, 26, 28, 32), namely, *mu-na-ab-bi*, "spoke" or "commanded." Langdon's reading of the last syllable "teg," in line 34, is an error. The text shows plainly "bi."

¹¹ See Jastrow, "Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, March, 1914), p. 133. Our term "cassia" is the Babylonian term *kasû*, coming down to us through the Greek form. The *kasû* occurs constantly in these Babylonian-Assyrian medical texts.

¹² Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 300 (col. III, 3-5); Ungnad-Gressman, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 72. The Adapa

the gods are occasionally represented as regretting this decision, and in Langdon's text the goddess Ninharsag and the group of Anunnaki are so pictured, but there is not the slightest suggestion of death having come to man through his own fault. That idea is foreign to the Sumerian-Babylonian point of view.

12. The first part of column 6, containing references to the gods Enlil, Nannar (the Moon-god—so to be read in line 7), Ninib (so to be read perhaps in line 8), and Ninharsag, is too broken to be intelligible.

Beginning with line 23 and extending to line 41, we have a series of gods (or divine beings) enumerated, who are created in order to furnish relief from the various diseases to which flocks and men are heir. This part of the tablet is perhaps also to be brought into connection with the tradition, reported by Berosus,¹³ of Oannes or Enki giving instruction to man how to protect himself against disease and suffering.

The tablet closes with an incantation invoking the names of the various deities enumerated in connection with diseases. This incantation is the goal of the text to which the several myths of the beginnings of things lead up. Further examples of such incantations in which myths are introduced to strengthen and justify the incantation itself will be given in the fuller paper on Langdon's text. An interesting point, which will also be more fully discussed in the complete paper, is the play of words in column 6 between the name of the part of the body diseased and the name of the deity created for the purpose of relieving the disease in question. Thus, for the disease of the mouth (Ka) the goddess Nin-Ka-Si is created. For distress of the flocks (U-tul) the goddess Nin-Tul-la, etc.

13. It will be seen that the tablet deals in the first part with a description of the time before the world was populated, and presents in the form of a number of myths a picture of vegetation and fertility arising, first, from the copulation of the god Enki and his consort, who is represented at the same time as his daughter; and, second, from the inundation of the fields, viewed apparently under the aspect of a purification ceremony,

myth says that man was given wisdom (i. e., knowledge) but not "eternal life" (Fragment I, 4). Dhorme l. c. p. 148; Ungnad-Gressman, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, I, p. 35.

¹³ Berosus says that Oannes transmitted to men "writing, science and the arts of all kinds," which would, therefore, include also the healing art.

based upon the current views of the sanctity attaching to water as a purifying element.

The second part of the tablet appears to be taken up largely with instructions given to man through various deities. Leaving the details for discussion in my full paper on the subject, let me here call attention to two points of a more general character.

14. The picture of the god forcing the goddess, who declares that "no man has ever entered into her," throws an interesting light on the custom vouched for as late as the days of Herodotus, of the symbolical union between the god and goddess carried out as part of the religious rites in the city of Babylon. Herodotus, as will be recalled (Book I, § 181), describes the sacred chamber on the top of the stage tower at Babylon, which contained as its sole furniture a couch on which the woman lay who is to be visited by the god. The god is, of course, represented by the priest, and there is little doubt that Herodotus is describing a rite based upon the scene so naïvely and frankly described in Langdon's tablet.

15. The view taken in Langdon's text of the beginning of things is precisely the one that we find in a Sumerian version of Creation (*Cuneiform Texts*, 13, plates 35-38) which has been known to scholars for a long time, and which presents a striking contrast to the main Babylonian version in which the principal scene is the conflict between Marduk and Tiamat. In this Babylonian version the beginning of time is pictured as chaotic, with a monster, symbolical of the raging waters, in sole control. Until the lawlessness symbolized by these monsters can be overcome through some god, who, under one name or another, marks the conquest of the winter rains through the sun of the spring, earth, vegetation and mankind cannot make their appearance. Law and order must be established before the world can become habitable. This appears to have been the view developed under later Akkadian or Semitic influences, whereas the earlier Sumerian view, as set forth in the text above referred to, does not conceive of a time when the world did not exist, but merely before it was populated by men and animals and before vegetation appeared. There is no conflict in this version. Therefore, in this Sumerian text the first step in Creation was the founding of cities, and, naturally, the oldest cities known to the Sumerians are enumerated, beginning with Eridu. It is a fair inference

that in the earliest form of this Sumerian myth only one city, the oldest of all, was mentioned.¹⁴ After the "city" has been established, mankind, animals and vegetation appear.

Now, this is exactly the point of view set forth in Langdon's text. The world is in existence, a "mountain," a "country," and even a "city" are there, but the world is empty. The god Enki and his consort "alone" inhabit it, though no doubt it is assumed that other gods produced through Enki, either by himself or with the help of his consort, are also in existence; but no animals, no men, and no vegetation. The difference, then, between the early Sumerian and the later Babylonian view may be summed up in the statement that in the Sumerian view the chief factor in the Creation myth is the bringing about of vegetation and fertility, whereas in the Babylonian or Akkadian tale the main stress is laid upon the substitution of law and order for primitive chaos and lawlessness. It is interesting to note that in the two versions of Creation in the Book of Genesis we have a parallel to the Babylonian and Sumerian points of view respectively. The P document, or the Priestly Code (Gen. 1, 1 to 2, 4^a), represents water as the primeval element and its main idea is the establishment of order in the world, with a sequence of creation brought about by the word of Elohim. In the J, or Jahwistic, version (Gen. 2, 4^b *seq.*), the earth is represented as in existence, but without any vegetation and without any one to till the soil. It has long been recognized that of the two versions the J version represents the more primitive point of view as is indicated also in the manner of the creation of man; while P belongs to a much more advanced period of thought, and, moreover, has been adapted to a purified monotheistic conception of divine government. Similarly, the Babylonian or Akkadian point of view evidently represents an advance upon the Sumerian, and it is interesting as well as important to find in Cuneiform documents a parallel to the two views embodied in the Book of Genesis. The bearings of this parallel upon the possible relationship between Babylonian and Biblical traditions will be discussed more fully in a special forthcoming paper.

¹⁴ The text itself shows evidence of having been worked over in order to adapt it to later conditions, as I shall endeavor to prove in a separate paper on "Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings." See, meanwhile, King's translation in his *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I, pp. 130-139.

Postscript. After this article had been typewritten and was about to be sent off, the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for January, 1916, appeared, with some corrections by Dr. Langdon to his text (pp. 40-43), embodied also in an article in the *Expository Times* for January, 1916, pp. 165-168. In this latter article Dr. Langdon also republishes his translation with some changes, and maintains his three main theses, that his text contains an account (a) of the Sumerian Paradise, (b) of the Deluge, and (c) of the Fall of Man. In reply to the article of Professor Sayce (*Expository Times*, November, 1915, who rejected Langdon's second thesis, Dr. Langdon sets up the claim that, in view of the relationship between his tablet and Dr. Poebel's text (see above, under 1), the occurrence of an account of the Deluge in *Poebel's* text proves the correctness of interpreting columns 2 and 3 in *Langdon's* text as referring to a deluge. Just the contrary is the case. If the two tablets belong, as I believe—and as Dr. Langdon now appears to believe,—to the same series, then the fact that we have an account of a Deluge in Poebel's text, with Ziusgiddu as the hero, certainly makes it highly improbable, if not impossible, that we should also have an account of a Deluge in Langdon's text. The assumption that Tag-Tug (if this be the reading) "is the same person under another name," namely, the same as Ziusgiddu, is purely arbitrary. Equally arbitrary is the insertion by Langdon of the words "at that time" at the beginning of line 34 of column 5 (see above, under 11, and particularly the note on this line). The line in question forms, as I have indicated, a complete parallel to lines 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, except that in each one of these lines a different plant is named. Langdon's first restoration, therefore, at the beginning of this line, of the words "my king," was obvious and correct, since each one of these lines begins with this word. At the time that Dr. Langdon made the correct restoration he assumed that "my king" referred to his hypothetical Tag-Tug. Having now found out (p. 167 of E. T. for Jan., 1916) that he was mistaken in this, and that "my king" refers throughout the text to the god Enki, as I have also shown above in the note to § 9, it would, of course, not fit in with his interpretation to supply "my king" at the beginning of line 34, and he therefore conjectures the words "at that time," suggesting further, in a footnote, that possibly the name Tag-Tug is to be restored here. I have shown above

that the verb at the end of line 34 is precisely the same as at the close of lines 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, namely, "has commanded." Langdon, not recognizing that his reading of the sign at the close of line 34 is incorrect, retains his erroneous translation "approached." If we substitute for this the correct reading "has commanded," it is of course obvious that at the beginning of the line we *must* read "my king." Tag-Tug not being even mentioned in column 5 (so far as preserved), it is, as will be admitted, a most arbitrary procedure to introduce him by a conjectural restoration at the beginning of a line for the purpose of maintaining a theory. Such a method cannot commend itself to scholars.

I am glad to see that Dr. Langdon has now recognized the occurrence of the name of the god Isimu or Usmû, in column 3, line 3, and that he has thus got rid of the erroneous translation "divine anointed ones" for this and the five other parallel lines. Recognizing now that in line 9 of column 3 "my king" refers to the god Enki, and not to the hypothetical Tag-Tug, who is never mentioned until the end of this column, it follows that the boat (line 10 and line 30),—the *only* clear reference to any ship in the whole tablet,—*must* be the boat of the god. (See above, under 8.) To save his theory, however, that Tag-Tug takes refuge on the boat, Langdon now translates the crucial line (line 10 = line 30) "alone upon the boat awaited him;" that is, the god Enki had an appointment to meet or to wait for Tag-Tug on the boat. Is it conceivable that any writer would refer by a suffix to a verb to a personage who has not been mentioned before, and who in fact is never mentioned till 30 lines later? Here again we have an illustration of Dr. Langdon's curious method of changing a translation in order to save a theory. His former translation, "his foot alone upon the boat set," making this refer to Tag-Tug, was much nearer the mark. The verb at the end of the line, "Gub," means "to place," "to stand," etc., and, together with the word "foot" at the beginning, is evidently intended to indicate that some one is "making for the boat," or ready to step on board the boat; and, of course, the subject of the verb is the "king" or the god Enki mentioned in the preceding line.

Lastly, let me say that Langdon's revised translation of line 32, column 2, "Oh, Ninḫarsag, I will destroy the fields with a

deluge," is neither an improvement nor is it justified by the text. All that can safely be concluded from this line that is after Enki had uttered "his word" (as indicated in line 30) the inundation of the fields follows, and this is expressed by saying that "the fields of Ninḫarsag were inundated," or possibly, "the field was inundated by Ninḫarsag." The word "deluge" is Dr. Langdon's addition. The line contains merely the following words: (1) Ninḫarsag, with genitive ending, (2) field, and (3) a verb *Ri* or *Rig*, the common meaning of which is *raḥāṣu* "inundate."

Otherwise, there are few changes which Dr. Langdon introduces, and since he retains his erroneous translation of lines 24-26, of column 2, he naturally misses the purpose of what I think is the chief and certainly the most interesting episode in the tablet, the irrigation of the fields and the resultant fertility, coming as a consequence of the union of the god with the goddess.

Perhaps it is just as well that by way of further explanation I should justify my interpretation of these three important lines. At the beginning of all three lines¹⁵ is the sign *Uš*, the common value of which is the 'male member.' Added to *Uš* is the suffix of the third person, i. e., therefore, "his member." The verb at the end of line 24 is "expose," at the end of line 25 "sink" or "insert," at the end of line 26 "did not (or "would not") draw out." There can therefore be no doubt that the sexual act is here described. Besides in line 25 we have the sign also for the female organ into which the god Enki "inserts his *Uš*," and in line 27 the goddess Nintu cries, "No man has come to me," the verb used, it is interesting to note, being precisely the same as in Hebrew usage, to denote the sexual act. The full commentary to these three lines, as to the entire passage, will be found in the forthcoming paper.¹⁶

¹⁵ Langdon misread the first sign in l. 25; it is clearly *Uš* on the original, precisely as at the beginning of lines 24 and 26.

¹⁶ Let me also add, for the immediate convenience of those desiring to make an independent study of the important text, my chief corrections to Langdon's readings, based on a collation of the tablet in the University Museum, kindly placed at my disposal by the Director, Dr. G. B. Gordon:

Col. 1, 15-16, the 7th sign is in both cases *uḫ*.

Col. 2, 24. The 4th and 5th signs are to be taken as one—*Dirig* (Brünnow No. 3739), though *Kalagga* (Brünnow No. 6194) is also possible.

Col. 2, 25. The first sign is *Uš*, as in lines 24 and 26.

Col. 3, 1. The name of the goddess here as well as in lines 5 and 8 is *Nin-sar*—not *Nin-tu*.

Col. 3, 2. The 3d sign appears to be *ruk* (Brünnow No. 10300). So also in lines 43, 44 and Col. 5, 15.

Col. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8—Sign before last is *ub*. Read therefore in all these instances, as well as lines 24 and 25, *nu-mu-un-su-ub-bi*. The verb is *su-ub* in the sense of "purifying, cleansing." See Delitzsch, *Sumerisches glossar*, p. 148.

Col. 3, 11. After the third sign read the notation for $\frac{2}{3}$, followed by *Rim* (Brünnow No. 4815) and the phonetic complement *ma*. So also in line 31.

Col. 3, 12. Last sign is *ub*; so also l. 32.

Col. 4, lines 18, 19, 20, 35, 36, 46 and 47, first sign is probably *giš*, not *e*.

Col. 4, 42. First sign is *šam* (Brünnow No. 4681) "price."

Col. 4, 45. Instead of *aš* and *gar*, read together as one sign *šur*; so also col. 6, 42.

Col. 4, 48. Langdon has omitted *si* after *ab*.

Col. 5, 34. Last sign is *bi* (not *teg*) just as in lines 20 and 22, etc.

Col. 5, 40. First sign is quite clearly *Lul* (Brünnow No. 7265); so also 4th sign of line 42, and first sign of l. 45.

Col. 5, 44. Third sign is *a*, not the notation for two; 6th sign is *bi*; 8th sign is probably *ni*.

Col. 6, 30. Eighth sign is *gig* (not *zu*), just as in lines 24, 27, 32, etc., etc.

Col. 6, 46. Omitted in Langdon's copy, though included in his transliteration.

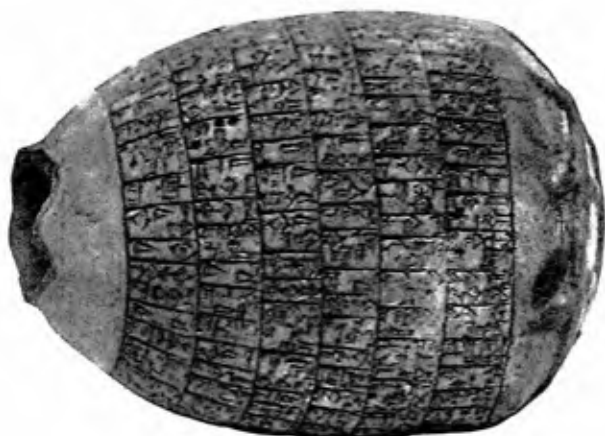
The full list of corrections and suggested new readings will be given in the complete paper.



I



II



III



NEW CONE OF ENTEMENA

I THE NET. II THE SIX NEW CASES IN COL. II.
III VARIANTS IN COLS. IV AND VI.

A Net Cylinder of Entemena.—By JAMES B. NIES, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Owing to the war now raging, a remarkable object of Babylonian antiquity which, in normal times, would have gone to Europe, was brought to the United States and now forms part of the Nies collection in Brooklyn, N. Y.

According to the dealer from whom it was bought, it was found by an Arab belonging to a tribe located between Jokha and Tello. The same man in 1895 is said to have found the famous cone of Entemena published by Thureau-Dangin in 1898.¹ If the word of the dealer is to be accepted, neither the cone nor the net cylinder was found at Tello, but between that site and Jokha. The ancient names for those places were Lagash and Umma. The inscription tells us that a canal named Lummagiriunta, probably the modern Shatt el Hai, formed a boundary between their territories, separating the fields of the god Ningirsu of Lagash from those of the god Shara of Umma, and that on the banks of this canal were set up inscriptions, presumably in the nature of boundary stones, whose purpose it was not only to clearly delimit the territories and to state the conditions upon which peace existed, but also to call down curses of the gods on the invader. In the absence of more definite knowledge, we may, therefore, say that it is not only possible, but probable, that the two inscriptions of Entemena were found on, or near, one of the banks of this canal, where 5000 years ago they surmounted pillars of brick or stone and constituted the NARUA frequently mentioned in the text.²

The American cone or cylinder is light terra-cotta in color, egg-shaped, and hollow, with an opening at one end forming a lip or short neck, and a rounded surface at the other, covered by a design of a net in relief. Its dimensions are: height 20 cm., circumference at widest part 48.5 cm., at narrowest part, round

¹ *Déc. en Chaldée*, p. xlvi; *Rev. d'Assyr.* 4. 37 ff., *Königsinschriften*, 36 ff.

² L. W. King, in his *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 164, rightly conjectures that more than one of the so-called cones was written. He thinks they were copies of a boundary stone like the 'Stele of Vultures,' and were in the nature of 'foundation memorials.'

the neck, 19 cm., diameter 15.2 cm., opening at neck 4 cm. It consists of a rather granular baked clay and is surrounded by a, for the most part, deeply incised, archaic inscription in six columns.

When bought the interior was filled with earth and the exterior was covered by an incrustation of salt under which was red earth that filled the signs and case-divisions. These were removed by soaking in water a few days. Some of the salts still remain in the deep numerical signs of col. ii, case 16, and cause the uneven appearance of those signs seen in the photograph.

The similarity of this object to a closed net is very striking, and the inference that it is meant to represent a mythological net is further substantiated by the fact that the SA-SHUSH-GAL of the god Enlil is mentioned in col. i, 28-29, and of the god Ningirsu toward the end of col. vi. Now SA-SHUSH-GAL means 'a great covering net' such as the gods were said to throw over their enemies so as, presumably by drawing the cord strung through the edges, to enclose them. Such a net, filled with the enemies of Lagash being clubbed to death by Ningirsu, may be seen on the 'Stele of Vultures,' *Déc.* pl. 4 bis, which mentions no less than five deities who wield this formidable covering net, Enlil, Enki, Enzu, Babbar and Ninharsag.²

If it is conceded that this cylinder represents a drawn, divine net, then the interesting conclusions follow: 1st, that it was the intention of Entemena to write the inscription round a formidable weapon of divine punishment as a warning to his foes that a transgression of the treaty would bring down the wrath of the god, and as an assurance of divine protection to his followers. 2d. As this is the oldest cylinder known the symbolism involved offers an explanation for the adoption by the Babylonians of so remarkable a form as a cylinder upon which to record important documents of history. In later times when the significance of the form was lost, the traditional use still persisted and gave rise to a great variety of shapes, such as octagons, hexagons, squares and barrels.

Perhaps the most interesting fact about this cylinder is that it adds to the well known text of Thureau-Dangin six new

² On the metaphor of the net among the primitive Sumerians, see L. W. King, *Sumer and Akkad*, 132.

cases, containing ten lines, in the second column of the inscription (see cut), where it treats events in the reign of Eannatum; GAN ^dNIN-GIR-SU-KA ÉŠ + UŠU + MAŠ ŠŪ-GAR GUB ID-GIŠ-ŪH^{ki}-ŠŪ MU-KID GAN LUGAL NU-TUK NI-GIN: 'The field of the God Ningirsu, containing 33½ (BUR), he left on the side of Umma; he ordered that the royal field be not taken.' ŠŪ-GAR GUB could be transliterated ŠŪ-NIG-GIN with some such meaning as 'surround' or 'comprise,' in which case BUR must be supplied after the numeral.

The new matter given above will be better understood by a brief review of the context. Entemena, before recording his own achievements, briefly reviews the earlier history of the relations of Lagash and Umma. It seems that, before the time of his uncle Eannatum, there had been strife between the cities, both of which acknowledged, as their overlord, Mesilim, the King of Kish. That monarch apparently intervened and set up a boundary-stone to delimit the fields of the two cities.

During the patesiat of Eannatum, a patesi of Umma, named Ush, insolently removed the boundary-stone and invaded the territory of Lagash. Upon this Lagash made war on Umma and was victorious. Ush was killed, or fled, and a new patesi of Umma, Enakalli, took his place. With him Eannatum made a treaty in which the boundary was defined. It was to be a canal extending from the Euphrates to Guedin. Then follows the new part of the inscription given above. Several variants also are to be noted, as follows:

After col. iv, case 34 (corresponding to SAKI, col. iv, case 5) GŪ ^{id}IDIGNA-ŠŪ GAL-LA GŪ-GŪ GIR-SU^{ki}-KA is omitted; but after col. iv, case 35 (corresponding to SAKI, col. iv, case 8) insert ^dEN-LIL-LÁ ^dEN-KI-KA before ^dNIN-ĤAR-SAG-KA. The only other variant is found in col. vi, last case, where we read ĤA-NI-GAZ-E instead of ĤA-NI-GAZ-LID + ŠA(G)-GĪ.

In conclusion it should be said that in addition to these variants a number of signs which Thureau-Dangin restored in his text have been verified and found correct by means of this much better preserved cylinder.

Critical Notes Upon the Epic of Paradise.—By S. LANGDON,
Shillito Reader of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

Earlier pages of this volume of the JOURNAL contain articles by Professors Prince and Jastrow upon my recent volume, 'The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man,' in which they put forward many criticisms that deserve a detailed examination. A discussion of a document of such fundamental importance, to be of definite value, must be based upon a correct text and I shall first of all give the corrections to the *editio princeps* which I have been able to make. A French edition containing my final text and translation should be issued from the press of E. Leroux, Paris, very soon. But the unfortunate state of affairs in Europe may delay this volume many months. In the meantime hasty conclusions and other misunderstandings based upon the long silence of the author are certain to continue until that volume appears. This article is, therefore, issued as the forerunner of my completed studies.

First of all let us establish our text, which I have now done from the tablet itself. In the first edition the author was forced to depend for more than three-fourths of the tablet upon photographs and this was a labour which tried the eyes in a way which he will not soon forget. Signs which appeared faintly on the photograph are now perfectly legible on the tablet. The signs appear 'warmer' on the clay tablet and their identifications are soon the result of mental suggestions in the mind of the Assyriologist. With the tablet itself in my hand most of the epigraphical difficulties vanished and with them many of the false interpretations.

Col. I 17; the last sign is *zu* not *ba*. *Zu* 'to know' has here the obscene sense of 'cohabit,' and the line is clear.

Col. I 18; the first sign is *DUN*, *ŠUL*, which denotes an animal of the bovine class and is rendered *zebu* by the author for reasons given in his *Archives of Drehem*. The line should be rendered, 'The *zebu* as it fed on grain (the dog) did not . . .' The last sign of this line is not *ba* and probably not *zu*.

Col. I 19; *nu-mu-un su ðim úr-ra . . . su* is here the root *su-g* = 'increase,' see *Sum. Gr.* 241 *su* 2) and 243 *sug* 10).

Also *Babyloniaca* VI 46. The word occurs in *nu-mu-un-sá-ga-mu*, 'My grown-up offspring,' a title of Tammuz, CT. 15, 19, ll. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12. Note also ŠE (*su-ug*) = *rabû*, 'to grow up,' *tarbûtu* 'education,' and the form *sud* = in *Sum. Gr.* 242, *sud* 4).

The line should be rendered, 'The growing offspring, the fondling of the lap . . .'

Col. I 28; the third sign has no gunification; what I took for gunification are only scratches after the sign. The sign is *zag* and recurs in I 30 and Rev. III 51, where it has the same form; also Rev. III 40 contains this sign. *Zag* = *pirištu*, *nîmeku*, 'wisdom,' see II R. 54 G 66 and VR. 29 No. 2. 23. A derived sense is *zag* = *rêmu* 'mercy,' and that is most likely the sense here. The line should be rendered, 'A prince his mercy withheld not.'

Col. I 30; *zag eri-ka i-lu¹ nu-mu-ni-bi*, 'In the sanctuary of the city "alas!" they said not.' The line refers to the mournful lamentations so characteristic of Sumerian religion.

Col. I 32; at the end, *zu*.

Col. II 10; read *si* for *e*. The line is obscure.

Col. II 16; read *a-šag a-gar ab-sim-a-ni še-mu-na* . . ., 'The fields and meadows their vegetation (yielded in abundance).'

Col. II 31; the sign after *ge* is *za*, which simplifies matters and avoids the difficulty which I had laboured with in explaining the statement that Enki is the father of Damgalnunna. The line means, 'Enki at the side of (*za* < *zag*) Damgalnunna uttered his command.'

Col. III 4; at the end read *nu-mu-un su-ub-bi*, 'the sinless seed.' Same correction in III 5, 7, 8, 24, 25.

Col. III 12; read *gibîl* (or *izi*) *-im-ma-an-su-ub*. The passage is obscure. Same correction, line 32.

Col. III 27; at end read *su-ub-bu-ma-ni*. Also line 28.

These two lines should be rendered:

'This pious son of man whom he has declared pure,

O Ninkurra, this pious son of man whom he has declared pure.'

III 42; read *gù-ga-ra-ab-dûg*.

¹ So read, not *KU*.

REVERSE

I have been able to read more signs in the damaged spot at the beginning, but they are of no consequence to the interpretation.

I 36; at the end read *si-si* for *mal-e*. This fortunately proves my rendering to be correct. *si-si* is one of the ordinary roots (reduplicated) for 'to fix, stand.' See *Sum. Gr.* 238 *si* 9).

I 39; read *sukkal-na*, 'To his messenger he said, "Open the door, open the door."' Enki's attendant is here represented as opening the door for Tagtug.

I 41; the sign after *HUL* is *RIM* and *HUL-RIM* is probably the Sumerian word for a plant, as in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, 23. 39. 1; *Maḫlu* V 13. 19 etc.

I 42; the first sign is certainly not *ŠAM* as my critics read. It has not the least resemblance to this sign in the epigraphy of the period. The most likely identification is *ū* (Thureau-Dangin, *REC.* 314). The line remains obscure.

I 48; read *si-gi* for *zi*. The rendering is correct.

II 17. After *LI* the signs have now entirely disappeared. *li-bé-sá* is perhaps correct but the photograph remains the only evidence.

II 20; read *ú-RIM* not *ú-giš*. The text has the ideogram for the plant *supalu*, *suplu*, which has not been explained.¹

III 34; read [*lugal-mu*] (*ú*)-*am-ga*-*ru mu-na-ab-bi*. 'My king as to the cassia commanded, "He shall pluck, he shall eat."' "

The sign *bi* is doubtful and faint but *bi* is demanded by the sense, for the forbidden plant is first mentioned in line 36. I misread the last sign of line 36 and hence erroneously identified the cassia with the plant which caused the Fall of Man. In fact the text mentions eight plants which man may eat from in the garden and curiously enough there are also eight divine genii sent to aid mankind after his loss of Paradise.

Line 36 of Rev. II should be read; *en-ki ú nam-bi bé-in-tar šab-ba ba-ni-in-sig*, 'Enki the plant, whose fate he had determined, therein placed.' The last sign is *sig* = *šakānu*,

¹ *supalu* is a synonym of *lardu* and *arantu*, 'nard,' an aromatic and medicinal plant, Meissner, *Supplement*, pl. 8, l. 24. The word appears as *suplu* in CT. 11. 45 a. 24, and is probably connected with Syriac *šebbeletha* 'nard.'

Meissner, SAI. 29, 59 and *Sum. Gr.* 238 sig 9). The same root appears as *sig* = *banû*, IV R. 5 a 3; SBP. 300, 18; II R. 23 k 9; Ebeling, KTA. No. 4, 2 and Rev. 20. Also Clay, *Miscel.* 4 II 7 *si-si* = *banû*, 'build.'

Thus it is Enki who brought about the loss of eternal life by placing a tree in the garden. The text does not mention his having forbidden it and that is precisely the point of the theologians who attributed the Fall of Man to the jealousy of Enki as in the Adapa myth. Tagtug was not to know that loss of eternal life would follow upon his eating from this unnamed tree. But Ninharsag foresees the result at once and hence pronounces the curse. The text also does not state that Tagtug ate of this plant but that is the obvious inference. Unfortunately texts of this kind are so abbreviated in detail that the succession of ideas baffles the decipherer for many hours. This account of the Fall of Man, through his innocently eating from the fated and unnamed plant placed in the garden by the jealous water god, is purposely abbreviated by the schoolmen; that indescribable disaster of humanity formed a subject whose details were apparently too painful to be dwelt upon. In any case the curse by the mother goddess follows:

'The face of life until² he dies not shall he see.'

Man loses here the longevity and perfect health of the pre-diluvian age. That is the plain statement of our text, and it is apparently the result of eating from a plant.³ My previous error

² Professor Prince asserts that *en-na* means 'at the time when.' The only known meaning of *en-na*, *en-e*, *en*, is 'until,' see *Sum. Gr.* § 236. It never has the meaning assigned to it in Prince's translation. The word for 'when' is *uð*, *uð-da*, see *Sum. Gr.* § 221. The same sense always adheres to *en-na* even when it is employed as a preposition. Note *en-še*, 'until when,' Zimmern, *Kultlieder* 179, 1; *en-na iti ab-è-a*, 'Until the month Abea,' unpublished Larsa tablet. Note *ena*, *una* = *šattu*, 'duration,' in *gig-ù-na* = *ina šat mûši*, 'during the night'; *uð-ù-ne* = *ina šat ùmi*, 'during the day'; *Gudea*, Cyl. A. 8. 2. *e-ne-ra* = *ana šatti*, 'until the fulness,' i. e., 'forever,' VR. 62 a 60.

³ The Fall might also be the final penalty for the sin which brought on the Flood, mentioned in Obv. II 27. If we place that construction upon the contents of the passage then the sin of mankind in failing to show the proper respect to the gods brought about not only the end of Paradise by the Flood but also the loss of perfect health and longevity. In view of the fact that the curse of Ninharsag bringing about the Fall follows

lay not in my main inference. The legend of the Fall of Man was obvious from the time when I first gave out my interpretation. The error consisted in failing to see traces of the name of the god Enki at the beginning of line 36 and hence I missed the true *motif* behind the Nippurian version. Here again Enki's jealousy is the theme of the theologians but they treat it almost as a mystic doctrine, too disagreeable to be discussed at length. The legend passes now to the more agreeable task of relating the creation of the eight divine patrons of fallen humanity.

II 40, 42 read *lul-a*, 'with woeful cry.'

II 44. The sign after *mà* may possibly be *a* and not the two strokes for 'two.' Repeated examination fails to decide the matter. *a* makes better sense for there is no previous mention of a female companion of Tagtug. The remainder of the line is correctly copied and the interpretation is correct. Read perhaps *uru-mà-a* 'in my city.' The reading 'two creatures' is, however, more probable.

At the top of Col. III I have deciphered more signs but the interpretation is not advanced.

III 20; read *ma* for *ra*. Also l. 22.

III 25; the signs before *mu* are extremely uncertain.

III 40; read *zag-mu*, 'my intelligence.' Line 41 is now clear. The god who sends wisdom is *En-zag* = *Nebo ša nîmeki*, and line 41 has the variant and longer epithet *En-zág-aga*, 'Lord who exercises intelligence,' a title of Nebo.

III 42; read *tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra* [*en-na-aš*]. My rendering is correct.

These textual criticisms ensure my original interpretation. The tablet contains a description of Paradise, the ejection of mankind by a Flood, the deliverance of a pious man *Tagtug* who became a gardener and receives instructions as to which plants he shall eat. Enki out of jealousy plans to deprive him of immortality by placing a fated plant in the garden. After the ejection from Paradise and the loss of perpetual good health the gods send eight divine patrons to aid man in his struggle for existence.

upon a list of medicinal plants which he is permitted to eat and one fateful plant of which there is no further description makes the inference wellnigh certain that the Fall is to be attributed to the eating of this plant purposely placed in the garden by the jealous god Enki.

The revised text of Rev. III 40 f. contains a clear reference to the moral degeneration of man. Here the gods send a divine patron Enzagaga to aid the weakened intelligence of mankind. Scheil in his brilliant critique of the passage before the French Academy (*Comptes rendus* for December, 1915) divined a reference to the moral fall of man in this line. This confirms my interpretation of Obv. II 27 and proves that my critics were entirely in error in their attempts to place an unnatural exegesis upon this line. The deity created to protect mankind against his moral and intellectual depravity is a form of Nebo, patron deity of Dilmun.

The text is not an incantation. The scribe himself adds the note *zag-sal*, the standard description of epical poetry. Nor do the contents suggest any magical rites. It is also not a 'ritual tendency' composition. The ritualistic liturgies are marked by refrains and successions of melodies, and these are entirely absent here. The tablet is epical in nature and its contents are not so obscure as to leave any doubt about the major facts. We have here the Sumerian epic of Paradise and the theological explanation of the Fall of Man.

I should like to dispute with my critics at greater length but other work is pressing. Only on one point will I enter a vigorous objection to Prince's interpretation of the opening line. He has misunderstood me and neglected to read my note on page 70 n. 1. *e-ne-ba-am* contains the verb *e-ne* = *šalālu* 'to lie down.' *ba-am* is the postfixed element *ba* to denote a relative phrase, strengthened by the emphatic *am*. I never said that *ba* means 'to lie down, to sleep.' Prince's rendering, which sees in *ba* the verb, is hardly correct. I also call my critic's attention to his statement about *Tag-túg*. The sign here is *túg* not *ku*; *ku* has only one interior stroke not two as in this text. *Tag-tug* or *tag-dúr* are the only probabilities. My critics also adhere to the false reading of the name of the Sumerian survivor of the Flood. The new text published by myself has clearly *Zi-ud-sud-du* and the name which has survived in Lucian shows also that this was the original pronunciation.

The Bones of the Paschal Lamb.—By JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
Professor in Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

'A bone in it ye shall not break.'¹ The Priestly legislation in Exod. 12 makes this provision for the Paschal lamb. Num. 9. 12 repeats the prescription. This paper will discuss the probable origin and significance of this rite.

Various hypotheses have been advanced, by Robertson Smith and others. None, however, has the slightest probability or is supported by valid evidence, other than that presented by Kohler.² Comparing the statement of John 19. 33-36, that none of the bones of Jesus were broken, with two modern instances, recorded by Curtiss, of the bones of the sacrifice remaining unbroken, and then citing several cases from comparative mythology of animals being eaten, but their bones being carefully preserved, flesh being then brought back upon them and the animal thus restored to life, Kohler has suggested that the prohibition of breaking the bones of the Paschal lamb points to the belief in its subsequent resurrection and reincarnation.

That this belief and practice are cherished by primitive peoples in all parts of the world, particularly those still living upon the hunting and fishing planes of civilization, is abundantly attested. Manifold evidence proves this belief and practice current in early Semitic life, particularly in the nomad state, and thereby confirms Kohler's hypothesis.

The Testament of Abraham makes Sarah say,³ 'When you slaughtered the perfect calf and served up a meal to them (the three angels), the flesh having been eaten, the calf rose again and sucked its mother in joy.' Kohler has compared this tradition with that of Ezra's ass, recorded in Sura 2. 261, the bones of which, after having lain for one hundred years, were reclothed with flesh and restored to life. Damiri gives this tradition in full.⁴ 'When 'Uzair was freed from Babylon he journeyed on

¹ Exod. 12. 46.

² *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 13. 153f.; cf. JQR (old series), 5. 419.

³ Recension A, 6 (ed. Barnes, 1892), 83.

⁴ *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, under *Al-Ḥimār al-Aḥlī*, near end of first half; translated by Jayakar, 1. 550f.

his ass. . . . He passed by a village in which he saw no person. . . . He said, "How will God revive this after its death?" out of wonder and not from any doubt of the resurrection. As-Suddi states that God revived 'Uzair and said to him, "Look at your ass; it is dead and its bones have become old and worn out." God next sent a wind which brought the bones of the ass from every plain and mountain whither the birds and beasts had carried them; they became united and joined with one another while he was looking on; it thus became an ass of bones without flesh or blood; the bones were then covered with flesh and blood, and it became an ass without life; an angel then came and blew into the nostril of the ass, upon which it rose up and brayed.'

Practically the same tradition, applied however to Jeremiah and his ass, is also recorded by Damîri.⁵ The conclusion gives a slightly varying account of the reincarnation of the ass. 'When a hundred years had passed, God revived of Jeremiah his eyes, while the rest of his body remained dead; after that he revived his body while he was looking at it. Jeremiah then looked at his ass and found its bones lying separate and scattered, white and shining; he next heard a voice from heaven saying, "O ye old bones, God orders you to collect together," whereupon they united one with another and joined one with another. The voice was then heard to say, "God orders you to clothe yourselves with flesh and skin," which happened accordingly. Then the voice said, "God orders you to become alive," upon which the ass arose and brayed.'

A rather late Midrash⁶ recounts the following narrative: 'They went a little further along the road. God appointed for them two stags. Moses said to the old man, "Go, fetch us one of the stags." The old man said to Moses, "Am I a fool that I should go to the stags? Is there anything swifter than the stag?" Moses said to him, "Take the staff in thy hand and point it towards them." He took the staff and showed it to them, and they were not able to move from their place. Immediately Moses took and slaughtered them and prepared a roast. Moses said to the old man, "Be careful not to break any of the bones." When they had eaten and drunk and put aside some of the

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ma'aseh 'al Dor Ha'asiri*, ed. Kraus, in *Haggoren*, 8. 22.

flesh, Moses placed bone to its bone. Then he took the staff and laid it upon them and prayed a complete prayer before his Maker. Thereupon God made the stags live and they stood upon their feet. Moses said to the old man, "I adjure thee by Him who revived the stags when they had neither flesh nor sinews," etc.'

Likewise one of the stories collected by Prym and Socin⁷ tells that after the hero had been dead for ten years, his widely-scattered bones were collected by the wolves and sprinkled with the water of life by Simer, the great bird, that understood all the secrets of resurrection and eternal life, and he stood up once more as if from a sleep.

All these instances, and particularly those of the asses of Jeremiah and 'Uzair, remind us strongly of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, which, at the word of God, came together, bone to its bone, and flesh came upon them and the spirit entered into them and they stood upon their feet alive.⁸ Unquestionably the same conception of the possibility of restoration of life so long as the bones are preserved, underlies Ezekiel's vision, and proves conclusively the existence of this belief in ancient Israel. Certainly Ezekiel did not invent the picture nor was he the first to conceive the idea. Possibly the same thought is implied in Psalm 34. 21, 'He guardeth all his bones; not one of them is broken.' Certainly it is implied in the imprecation frequently applied in Rabbinic literature to such arch-enemies of Israel as Nebuchadnezzar, Titus and Hadrian, *s'hiq tamya*, 'May his bones be crushed,'⁹ in other words, may he be denied all possibility of resurrection. Possibly we may also find here the explanation of the extreme care with which in ancient Israel the bones of the dead were guarded and given proper burial.¹⁰ This would also explain why burning was the extreme punishment for crime,¹¹ and also why burning the bones of the dead,

⁷ *Der neuarabische Dialekt des Tur 'Abdin*, 1. 45; 2. 65.

⁸ Ezek. 37.

⁹ Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 539b.

¹⁰ Cf. the stories of the burial of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 50. 1-14, 25; Exod. 13. 19; Josh. 24. 32) and of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. 31. 13; 2 Sam. 21. 12-14).

¹¹ Lev. 20. 14; 21. 9; Josh. 7. 25. In this connection it may be noted that the Sadducees, who denied future life, carried out the penalty of burning literally, whereas the Pharisees, who believed in future life and would not deprive even a criminal of the hope of resurrection, poured molten

and thus depriving them of all possibility of resurrection, was the extreme of indignity,¹² and regarded by Yahwe as an unforgiveable crime.¹³ At the bottom of all these practices lies the thought of the possibility of resurrection so long as the bones were preserved. There can be little doubt that among the early Semites this was a generally accepted belief, and that it continued to survive in a manner in ancient Israel until in the post-exilic period the developing conception of future life and reward and punishment in the hereafter gradually moulded it into the theological dogma of bodily resurrection.

A number of additional instances may be cited in which the prohibition of breaking the bones of the sacrificial animal occurs. Lane, commenting upon the peculiar '*aqiqah*-ceremony, says,¹⁴ 'The person should say on slaying the victim, "O God, verily this '*aqiqah* is a ransom for my son, such a one; its blood for his blood and its flesh for his flesh and its bone for his bone and its skin for his skin and its hair for his hair. O God, make it a ransom for my son from hell-fire." A bone of the victim should not be broken.' Similarly Curtiss states,¹⁵ 'In Nebk they offer sacrifice for a boy when seven days old, without breaking any bones, lest the child's bones also be broken.' Elsewhere¹⁶ he describes a festival of the Ismailiyeh as follows, 'There is an annual festival at the shrine. They vow vows. All who desire go. They wash and put on clean clothes. They dance and sing. . . . The sacrifice must be male and a sheep, must be perfect, nothing broken, nothing wanting, must be at least a year old.' Likewise Hess¹⁷ compares the Paschal lamb with the sacrifice offered by the 'Otäbe-tribe in honor of a member of the tribe on the seventh day after death. He says, 'On this day an old, toothless sheep or goat is sacrificed in order to avert evil. The relatives and all present eat the sacrifice. The bones may not

lead down the throat in order to spare the body, or at least the bones (Mish. Sanhedrin 7. 2). Cf. also the tradition that just before his death Titus ordered his body burned and his ashes scattered, in order that God might not be able to restore him to life and judge him (B. Gittin 56b.).

¹² 2 Ki. 23. 14-20; Jer. 8. 1.

¹³ Amos 2. 1.

¹⁴ *Arabian Nights*, 4, note 24.

¹⁵ *Primitive Semitic Religion of To-Day*, 178.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 215.

¹⁷ *Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, ZATW. 1915, 130.

be broken, but are laid whole in the grave, or, if this be too distant, are hidden under a stone, in order that the deceased may ride upon the animal.' In all these cases the intimate connection between the sacrificial animal and either the form which it will possess in its future state, or the person for whom it is the substitute sacrifice, is obvious.

Time does not permit detailed consideration of the interesting question of the origin of the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb. It suffices merely to state that it is generally agreed that the Paschal lamb evolved out of the even more primitive practice of firstling-sacrifices. The evidence is ample that the ancient Semites, particularly in the early stages of civilization, sacrificed all firstling animals and firstborn children in order to redeem the remainder of their group or species from the taboo, considered as naturally resting upon all members thereof, by virtue of the fact that they all belonged primarily and naturally to the deity that had created them. The underlying principle of such taboo-sacrifices was that the sacrifice of a part of the tabooed object, usually the first and best part, redeemed the remainder and rendered it fit for profane use. Correspondingly the taboo-sacrifices themselves were doubly taboo; hence were given over entirely to the deity, or in later stages of religious evolution, to his representatives, priests, men of god, poor, etc. Under no condition, in the early stages of the religion, might the sacrificer partake of his own taboo-sacrifice. Outwardly this was the feature of the taboo-sacrifice that distinguished it most positively from the covenant-sacrifice.

There is abundant evidence, the presentation of which here, however, lack of time forbids, that these taboo-sacrifices were conceived of as not actually, or at least not completely, dying. True, the flesh was consumed. But, particularly if the bones were preserved, the deity might easily create new flesh, and thus restore life. In the desert the animals thus sacrificed were neither eaten nor burned. Their carcasses were left lying where they fell, to be consumed by birds and beasts of prey. Burning represents a second stage in the evolution of the taboo-sacrifice. And in later Israel the thought still obtained that these firstling and firstborn sacrifices were not actually killed; they were made to merely 'pass through the fire.' In this process, true, the body, and probably too, even the bones were consumed. Yet none the

less, it was felt, the life itself was not extinguished, and could be made once more to re-enter the old frame or even a new frame of the same species.

The basis of this idea must naturally be sought in the earliest Semitic conception of the animal world. It would seem that, in common with so many other primitive peoples, the early Semites, dwelling upon the hunting or pastoral plane of civilization, conceived of the number of individual animals of each species as definitely limited. Hence their fundamental problem of existence was to maintain the number of these individual animals undiminished. Still today the nomad in the desert lives primarily from the milk products of his sheep and goats. And as still today, so too in ancient times, animals were killed only exceptionally, and generally, it would seem, with proper precaution, such as the preservation of the bones, to ensure eventual rebirth or reincarnation and the consequent maintenance of the original number of individual animals.

Here we have the explanation of that other prohibition, so frequently recorded in the Bible, of eating the blood. For the soul and the life were one; the soul was in the blood. To have eaten the blood would have meant to consume the soul, and this in turn would have meant the reduction of the number of individuals of the species by one. Ultimately the entire species might thus be made extinct. This was prevented by allowing the blood, with the soul, to flow upon the ground, whence the soul could easily at the proper moment enter its next body. This was greatly facilitated if the bones of some previous body were preserved and a frame were thus ready to hand. For this reason animals improperly killed or dying natural deaths, whose blood therefore had not been poured out, might not be eaten, lest the soul be consumed with the blood. This custom still persists among the modern Beduin. Musil writes,¹⁸ 'The blood should not be eaten, because the soul, *nefs*, dwells in it. This would thereby pass into the eater. Likewise the flesh of animals that die natural deaths should not be eaten.' That this practice of letting the blood flow out upon the ground was in no wise sacrificial in character, as is so frequently claimed, is best evidenced by the fact that the procedure is prescribed for all animals, even such as could under no condition be sacrificed, such as the deer and

¹⁸ *Arabia Petraea*, 4. 150.

the antelope, and by the additional fact that although Deut. 12 strips the slaughtering of animals for food of its original sacrificial character, it still insists upon the pouring out of the blood.¹⁹ The only possible explanation of the origin of this-peculiar rite is that given above. It is corroborated by abundant evidence from the practice of other primitive peoples.

In this connection the etymology of the common Semitic word for 'blood,' דם, is illuminating. Barth²⁰ classes this among the common and original Semitic biliterals. Yet for many, if not most of these biliterals he admits the possibility of a triliteral, *tertia* "l stem.²¹ Granting the possibility of the relationship of the noun דם to the stem דמה, 'to be like,' it is more probable that the noun was derived from the verbal stem than vice versa. In other words this would imply that דם etymologically designates the blood as that which is like or, secondarily, contains the likeness of, the soul. This would, of course, indicate, what is quite probable, that the conception of the soul and the life as resident within, and in a sense identical with the blood, is a fundamental, primitive Semitic concept, and that, in general, ceremonies centering about the blood have also a certain relation to the thought of the soul and the life. Thus, for example, the blood of the Paschal lamb, smeared upon the doorposts of the houses of Israel, symbolized that the life of the lamb had been given as the substitute to redeem the lives of those within. Curtiss attests the general observance of this custom in Palestine still today.

Accordingly we need no longer doubt that the practice of not eating the blood, but instead, of carefully letting it flow forth upon the ground, had its origin in the aversion to eating the soul and thus reducing the number of the individual members of the particular species of animals. But the necessary corollary to this

¹⁹ Also Deut. 15. 21-23.

²⁰ *Nominalbildung*, 2c.

²¹ For a number of these words a considerably stronger case for a triliteral, *tertia* "l stem can be made out than Barth presents. For example the parallelism of the Hebrew בן, Arabic ابن, to the stem בנה, and of the Aramaic כר, Assyrian māru (even though Delitzsch, HWB, 390, derives it from a stem כמר) to the corresponding stem ברא, is in all likelihood quite indicative. Similarly the relation of the common Semitic חם, 'father-in-law', to the stem חמה, 'to protect', would parallel the relation of its common synonym חתן, to the stem חתן, likewise 'to protect'.

belief is resurrection and reincarnation. And, as we have seen, this process was thought to be greatly facilitated by the preservation of the bones unbroken.²²

This discussion may well shed light upon the otherwise rather obscure incident of the well-known account of creation from Berosus, that mankind was created out of earth mixed with the blood of a deity who had, at the command of Bel, sacrificed himself by cutting off his head for this purpose. In consequence thereof mankind possesses reason and divine understanding. The incident presumably by no means implies that the self-immolating deity permanently lost his life. Rather, in the light of our present investigation, it may be reasonably inferred that after the deity in question had thus benignly given his blood in order to call human life into existence, new, divine life was restored to his former bodily frame, still completely intact, and he lived once more. Meanwhile out of his blood, teeming with the germs of life and reason and understanding, mankind came into being. In other words, the story implies that human life is the direct continuation of the divine life originally resident in the blood of the self-immolating deity, just as it clearly states that human reason and understanding are the result of the divine reason and understanding likewise originally contained in the divine blood.

²² Among most primitive peoples the soul is conceived of as the inner image of the outer form of man or animal, as the case may be. It is localized in various parts of the body, in the heart (Frazer, *History of the Belief in Immortality*, I. 267), the eye (*ibid.* 267), the breath (*ibid.* 129f.), and is frequently associated with the shadow (*ibid.* 180, 173, 245, 267), with the reflection in the water (*ibid.* 245), and even with the name (*ibid.* 195). It is certain that the Semites early associated the soul with the breath, as the Hebrew *nefesh*, *nešama* and *ruah* and their equivalents in other Semitic languages, indicate. Whether this identification be as primitive as that of the soul and the blood can not be determined with certainty.

That in ancient Israel the soul was occasionally conceived as dwelling in the eye, or at least as dwelling inside the body and visible to the outer world through the eye, may be inferred from the name, עֵינַן, 'the little man' (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 212 c), for the pupil of the eye. The term would hardly imply consciousness that the image seen in the pupil is actually the reflection of the form of the beholder, but can best be explained as the product of the popular conception that the soul looked out through the eye upon the world without, and thus was visible to others. However, this does not at all affect the general conception of the soul as residing in the blood.

Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum.—By
I. M. CASANOWICZ, National Museum, Washington, D. C.

The Museum's collection of Jewish amulets, some thirty-five in number, includes manuscripts on paper and parchment, prints on paper and cloth, and metal disks, plaques and medallions. Part of the collection was acquired by the Museum in 1902 from a dealer who obtained it in Tunis, North Africa; the rest belongs to the Benguiat deposit of objects of Jewish religious ceremonial in the Museum, and presumably originated in the Near East.

The language of the amulets is what goes under the name of post-Biblical Hebrew, which often exhibits a disregard of the niceties of grammar and syntax, with an admixture of Aramaic phrases and words. Judging from the character of the writing, they are of modern make, though their contents no doubt go back to remoter times.

Besides these specifically Jewish amulets, the National Museum is in possession of five magic bowls, four in Hebrew script, one in Syriac Estrangelo, supposed to have been found at Hillah, Mesopotamia.

GENERAL CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE AMULETS

The basis or efficacious portion of Jewish amulets consists in the use of the names of God and angels¹ and in the application of Biblical verses² unchanged or in permutation of the words and letters. Thus the metallic amulets are frequently merely engraved or stamped with 'שר', with or without some device, such as the 'shield of David,' or the hexagonal star, the seven-branched candlestick (*menorah*), the tablets of the Decalogue;

¹ For the significance and importance of the knowledge and use of names in Assyrian and Egyptian incantations comp. Morris Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*, Giessen, 1905, 1. 112, 132, 327; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1901, ch. 5; A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, 31, 154; and in general, James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania Publications. Babylonian Section, vol. 3), Philadelphia, 1913, 58 and 56 n. 35, where further references are given.

² Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 62f.

two plaques have the names of the four rivers of paradise (Gen. 2. 10 ff.) in all possible transpositions and permutations of the words and letters. To the names of God familiar from the Old Testament the Kabbalists added numerous divine names constructed from passages of the Bible or some prayer by means of the *gematria*,³ and *notarikon*,⁴ the various systems of alphabets, as the אֶת־כֶּשֶׁת אֶבֶן־נֹר, or by combinations and transpositions of the words and letters. Thus, for instance, from Ex. 14. 19-21, by reading v. 19 and 21 forward and v. 20 backward, seventy-two names, each of three letters, are formed.⁵

The Biblical passages applied in amulets either contain references to God's help and succour in distress, or his promise of delivery from danger, so, for instance, Ps. 34. 7; 46. 12; 71. 2, 12; others to incidents of Biblical history of a symbolical character, as the healing of the water through Elisha (2 K. 2. 19), or delivery of Daniel from the lions' den (Dan. 6. 23). Others have come to be considered as incantations in themselves. So Ex. 22. 18; Gen. 49. 22 (against the evil eye); Nu. 6. 24-26 (the Aaronite blessing); Deut. 6. 4-9 (the *Shema*⁶); Ex. 15. 26; Deut. 7. 15; Psalm 67 inscribed in form of the candlestick; Psalm 91 (with the last verse of the preceding Psalm), which is particularly considered as effective against evil spirits, and is termed in rabbinical literature שִׁיר שֶׁל פְּנֵעִים or נִנְעִים, 'a song against plagues,' here meaning, attacks of evil spirits, as in the Targum as well as in Midrash the whole Psalm is given a demonistic interpretation.⁷ Others were found a place in the amulets on the strength of Kabbalistic interpretation that they contained some mystical names of God. So Ex. 14. 19-21 referred to above, Deut. 28. 12.

³ *Gematria* is an arithmetical equation. It assumes for two words, the letters of which yield the same numerical value, an identical meaning, or a mystical connection between their meanings.

⁴ *Notarikon* is the combination of the initials or end-letters of several words or verses to one word, or the forming a new word of each letter of a word.

⁵ Changing the position of proximate letters (ב for כ), or placing the letters in reversed order (ח for ט).

⁶ So Rashi to Suk. 45a. For other Biblical passages transposed into mystical names cf. M. Moïse Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, Paris, 1878, 60f, 80, 89, 110, 118, 204, 248, 316f.

⁷ Cf. Shebu. 15b; Nu. Midr. Rab. 12. 3.

Another element entering the composition of amulets are astrological conceptions and notions. Of the ten circles, of which the Kabbalah conceived the universe to consist (corresponding to the same number of *Sefiroth*), the seven planets were believed to be of the greatest importance to man. For each planet presided over a certain department of human affairs. They were provided with seven angelic regents, who ruled over them, each having under him several angelic servitors. So likewise the twelve constellations of the zodiac, the four cycles (*tekufoth*), or seasons of the year, the days of the week and hours of the day, etc., had each their particular ruling angel or genius, who were the direct agents and cause of the influence they were supposed to exercise over the life of nature and of man. So in addition to God and the angels these guardian spirits of the heavenly bodies and seasons are appealed to in the amulets.⁸

Gathering up these elements, it may be stated that a full and elaborate amulet usually begins with an invocation of God and the angels set over the various departments of nature and life. Then follows a long string of ills of body and soul from which the bearer of the amulet is to be freed or protected by the amulet. Next comes the adjuration of the various classes of evil spirits, followed by an enumeration of a series of vicissitudes and mishaps which may befall the body or mind of the patient. To these tripartite, negative elements of the invocation, noted by Professor Montgomery, in a modified way, in the Aramaic bowl incantations,⁹ is frequently added a positive element, the prayer that the bearer of the amulet may obtain grace and favor in the eyes of God and man. Interwoven with the invocation and surrounding it like a frame are Scriptural passages mentioned above. Mixed up with all this, or set up in some figure, as the 'shield of David,' the magic square or circle, is a medley of names of God and angels, some of them 'wonderful and fearful' forms, defying any attempt at a rational philological and etymological explanation, written forward and backward and crosswise in all possible permutations and trans-

⁸ Cf. PSBA. 28 (1906). 110 ff; Shabb. 156a; B. Mes. (Rashi), 106b; *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Gaster, 12 f.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 69.

positions of the letters. Even some pagan deities have been smuggled in, much transformed, or deformed in their passage from pagan godhood to Jewish angelhood. So that from the amulets quite a respectable little international and interreligious pantheon (and also pandemonium) might be brought together.

The amulet selected for reproduction, while not adorned with some of the devices mentioned above, is, as regards the contents,



the most complete and elaborate in the collection. It is a parchment manuscript, seven and a half inches square, and comes from Tunis. It is written in minute but, with the exception of a few worn off-places, clear and fully legible script; in fact, the writing exhibits a skilful and practised hand, perhaps that of a professional scribe (*sofer*) of the Torah scrolls. The main part, that is the invocation, is composed of three figures: a kind of portal formed of intersecting semicircles, closed at the top with a sort of crown; round it inside runs a scroll, symmetrically disposed; while in the center is a pear-shaped figure, inclosing a circle or wheel, with intersecting semicircles between them, and a star or six spokes within the wheel or circle.—The numbers on the subjoined guide or plan show in a measure the

devious and maze-like path the scribe followed, and there is room for difference of opinion as to the correct sequence of the several parts; the dove-tailing of them presented here is to be taken as tentative.—The rendering of the terms in the long catalogue of diseases contained in this amulet is for the most part based on the definitions and explanations of them given in the following Hebr. medical works in the Library of Congress: קאנון, by Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Naples, 1492; מעשי טוביה, by Tobiah ben-Moses, Venice, 1705; פרקי משה, by Maimonides, Wilna, 1887; אוצר החיים, by Jacob ben-Isaac Zahalon, Venice, 1663.

To first dispose of the 'trimmings' or accessories, the inscription which frames the amulet begins at the right top corner with the Aaronite blessing (Nu. 6. 24-26). Between the first and second members of the blessing are inserted the words, 'for Hannah, blessed above women, daughter of Rachel, bearer of this amulet upon her,' and the last six words are repeated between the second and third members. Then follows a series of mystical names, viz., אנקתם פסתם פספסם ריונסים, which are usually taken to represent, ἀνακτες Ἡφαιστος παμφάσις Διόνυσος¹⁰; כוּו במוכסו כוּו (also inscribed on the back of the mezuzah) which by the ab-gad alphabet are = יהוה אלהינו, סנני סנסנני סמנגלף; יהוה, which in Pseudo-Sirach are said 'to have brought Lilith back to Adam, and when she turned child-murderess like Lamia they were set over her';¹¹ ארירון, elsewhere with repetition, אריר ארירים, very mighty, mightiest;¹² 'But thou, O JHVH, art a shield about me' (Ps. 3. 4), closing with לקי and its anagram, which is the acrostic of Gen. 49. 18: 'I wait for thy help, O JHVH.

In the corners are the four letters of the Tetragrammaton spelled out in a way so as to yield the numerical sum of seventy-two, the number of the most solemn and potent divine name of

¹⁰ For a different explanation of these words, as being the acrostics of certain short invocations, cf. Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, 65. They also occur in the prayers which accompany the blessing of the priests (ריכן).

¹¹ Cf. *Jewish Encyclop.* 1. 295 and 4. 30; Montgomery, *op. cit.* 260.

¹² Cf. *Mitteilungen d. Ges. f. jüd. Volksk.*, Hamburg, 5 (1900). 71, s. v. ארירון. Schwab, *op. cit.* 42: *puissantes du chant*, deriving the last part from רנן.

the Kabbalists, found by them in the three verses of Ex. 14. 19-21, each of which counts seventy-two letters. Underneath are the names of the four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Rafael and Uriel.—Along the lower sides of the scroll and forming above a sort of arch is a series of three-lettered names of uncertain derivation. Under the point of the arch, יהוה, while in the lower corners, to the right: מַצְמִצִּית, of which the first four letters, by reducing the decades to units (the 'minor counting'), yield the same sum as יהוה = 26, while the last two letters, retaining their full numerical value, 410 = קָרוֹשׁ; to the left, יוהך כלך which are formed of the end letters of Ps. 91.11: 'For he will command his angels to guard thee on all thy ways.'—Following the line of the 'portal' are again scriptural passages interwoven with mystical names. Beginning at the bottom on the right side: 'Know thou therefore this day, and lay it to thine heart, that JHVH he is God, in heaven above and upon the earth beneath, there is none beside' (Deut. 4. 39); יה: שרי; צִמְרֹכ, which is constructed of the last letters of each verse in Gen. 1. 1-5; and repetition of לקי with two permutations; 'O JHVH, God of hosts, hear my prayer, give ear, God of Jacob, Selah' (Ps. 84. 9); 'O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will make known thy praise' (Ps. 51. 17); 'I am that I am' (Ex. 3. 14).—Dispersed through the figures are, on the right side of the 'portal,' a number of mystical names of uncertain derivation, on the left side, the fourteen triads of the acrostic of the prayer ascribed to Nehunya ben ha-Kanah, a rabbi of the first and second centuries, representing the forty-two-lettered name of God assumed by the Kabbalah¹³; in the center figure are

¹³As the acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya occur in full or in part almost on any and every Jewish amulet, and the prayer itself is more or less of the nature of an incantation (though it found entrance into the daily prayers of the orthodox Jews), it may not be amiss to give it a place here:

אנא בכח גדולת ימין תתיר צרורה. קבל רנת עמך. שנבינו שחרינו נורא. נא
גבור דורשי יחודך כבנה שמרם: ברכם טהרם רחמם צדקתך חמיר גמלם. חסין
קרוש כרוב טובך נהל עותך: יחיד נאה לעמך פנה זכרי קיושתך. שועתנו קבל
ושמע צעקתנו יודע תעלומות.

It closes with the doxology:

ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד. in acrostics: ב'ש'כ'מ'ו.

Translation:

Oh, pray, by the power of thy great right hand, loosen her who is bound (cf. Luke 13. 16). Receive the song of thy people. Exalt us, cleanse us,

seen. ש' in its six permutations and some of the mystical names, closing with מצפן, while in the 'crown' above is appropriately set אכתריאל.¹⁴

THE INVOCATION

The numbers on the margin refer to the corresponding numbers on the key plan.

- 1 אנא יהוה אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים אדיר בעליונים
- 2 ומושל בתחתונים¹⁵ למען שמך הגדול הגבור והנורא ולמען שם המפורש¹⁶ החקוק על מצח אהרן הכהן¹⁷ והויותיו¹⁸ הקדושים החקוקים על מטה משה רבינו עליו השלום אשר עשה בו כל האותות והמופתים
- 3 במצרים¹⁹ ולמען שמות המלאכים ובכחם הממונים על התקופה²⁰ וש'מ'ם שריהם²¹ גבריאל אוריאל ברכיאל רביאל בשם ובכח המלאך הממונה על יום זה יהויעאל
- 4 בשם ובכח המזל²² והמלאך הממונה על חדש זה דגים רומיאל בשם ובכח הכוכב והמלאך הממונים על יום זה צדק וירואל²³ בשם ובכח המזל והמלאך הממונים על השעה²⁴
- 5 שתשמור ותנצור ותציל ותגן ותעזר ותרחם²⁵ ותמוך והצלח וחון וברך ורפא לחנה מב'ת²⁶ בת רחל²⁷ מכל צרה וצוקה ומכל מיני חולאים רעים ונאמנים ברמ'ח אבריה ובשם²⁸ גידיה²⁹ ומכל מיני
- 7 כאב הראש בין י'שן בין חדש בין כאב חצי הראש וממורסת המוח³⁰ ומשגעון ומרמיון שקר ומתרדמה תמידית ומנכפה ומחולי הסיבוב ומכובד הלב³¹ ומשתוק³² ומכועה³³

awful one. O mighty one, guard those who seek thy unity as the pupil of the eye; bless them, cleanse them, have compassion upon them, bestow always thy righteousness on them. Strong one, holy one, in the abundance of thy bounty lead thy congregation; single one, exalted one, turn to thy people, those who are mindful of thy holiness. Receive our entreaty, and hear our cry, thou who knowest the hidden things. Blessed be the name of his glorious Kingdom forever.

¹⁴ 'Crown of God,' or 'crown of God,' with prosthetic א. One of the 'princes of the face,' vice-regent of God. In Berak. 7^a he is identified with JHVH; cf. *Jewish Enc.* 1. 594.



JEWISH AMULETS IN THE U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM

- 1 (above). The amulet described on pages 157-167.
- 2 (below). Another amulet in the collection.

8 ומרעש האברים²² ומחולי השועל²³ ומסובין²⁴ וזחלת הראש
והשחין רע ומקליער השערות²⁵ ומרבי הכנים ומכל מיני
קדחת בין היוםית בין עפושיית בין דקה²⁶ ומקדחת טוג'ה²⁷
ומכל מיני חולי הבא מחמת ומסיבת רתיחת הדם ומאדמית
הגוף ומכל מיני אבעבועות הנולדים מסיבת זועה²⁸ ומחולי
השיקוי²⁹ ומשיעול³⁰ ומאידים רעים וגסים העולים מאסכוימוקא
אל המוח³¹ ומסמור³² ומכל מיני עין הרע ותהיה כזרעו של
יוסף דלא שלט ביה עינא בישא כדכתיב בן פרת יוסף בן
פרת עלי עין³³ ומכל מיני כשוף ושדין ולילין ולילית ומזקין
ומשחית ורוחין בישין³⁴ ומנעמה³⁵ וממחלת ומאגרת בת
מחלת³⁶ וכת דילה ומכל מיני שריפת אש או תולדותיו כגון
דבר חם או מים רותחים ומכל מיני הזיק המים ומשקיעת
המים בין בים בין בגומות בכל מקום שיהיה בהם סכנה
ויקיים בה מקרא שכתוב כי תעבר במים אתך אני ונהרות
לא ישטפוך כי תלך כמו אש לא תכוה ולהבה לא תבער כך³⁷
9 וממפולת כותל וממפולת אבנים

10 ומכל מיני נפילה בין בבית בין בשוק בין בים בין ביבשה
בין מסלמות בכל מקום שיהיה ויקיים בה מקרא שכתוב כי
יפול לא יוטל כי יהוה סמך ידו³⁸ ומכל מיני פחד ויראה
ורתת וזיעה ורעדה ומתמהון לבב ומחלומות ומדמיונות
בישין³⁹ ומליין⁴⁰

11 בישין ומבלבול וטרוף הדעת

12 ומדבר וממגפה ב'מ ומנכפה⁴¹ ומנוילה⁴²

13 ומכל מיני סכנה אמן נצח סלה ועד

14 ותצוה למלאך אהביאל הממונה על האהבה והחבה שתתן
לחן ולחסד ולרחמים

15 בעיניך ובעיני כל הבריות בענין

16 שיבקשו כלם אהבתה ותהיה

17 אהובה

18 בעיניהם

19 כתמר בעיני אמן

20 בראשונה⁴³ וכאחבת יהונתו

21 ורוד⁴⁴

22 ותהיה

23 מכוברת בעיניהם כמלך בעיני עבדיו האוהבים אותו
 והסרים למשמעתו ותהיה נצולת מכל גזירות¹⁵ קשות ורעות
 24 המתרגשות ובאות לעולם
 25 אנסו¹⁶ לא תירא ולא תיחת כי עמך יהוה אלהיך בכל אשר
 תלך¹⁷ לקי

TRANSLATION

- 1 O JHVH, God of hosts, who dwellest among the Cherubim, mighty among the upper ones
- 2 and ruler over the lower ones,¹⁵ for the sake of thy great, mighty and awful name; and for the sake of the Shem ha-Meforash¹⁶ which was engraved upon the brow of Aaron the priest,¹⁷ and its holy attributes¹⁸ which were engraved upon the staff of Moses our Teacher, peace be upon him, with which he performed the signs and wonders
- 3 in Egypt;¹⁹ and for the sake and by the power of the angels who are appointed over the *Tekufah*²⁰ and their . . . princes,²¹ Gabriel, Uriel, Barakiel, Raniel . . .,²² and in the name and by the power of the angel who is appointed over this day, Jehu²³ciel;
- 4 in the name and by the power of the constellation²⁴ and of the angel who are appointed over this month, *Pisces*, Rumiel; in the name and by the power of the planets and of the angel who are appointed over this day, Jupiter, Wiruel; in the name and by the power of the constellation and of the angel who are appointed
- 5 over the hour—²⁵
- 6 Mayest thou guard, preserve, deliver, shield and help, and have compassion upon, and sustain, prosper, favor, bless and heal Hannah—blessed be she above women—daughter of Rachel,²⁶ from all trouble and distress, and from all kinds of evil and enduring diseases in her two-hundred and forty-eight members and three-hundred and sixty-five ligaments.²⁷ And from all kinds of
- 7 headache, be it old (chronic, *cephalaea*), be it recent (intermittent, *cephalgia periodica*), be it pain of the half-head (*migraine*, *hemicrania*) and of lesion of the brain (boil or abscess?)²⁸, and of madness, and illusion (melancholy), and lasting sleep (*coma*, lethargy), and epilepsy, and vertigo, and incubus,²⁹ and loss of speech (*aphasia*),³⁰ and cramps,³¹

- 8 and convulsions,³⁴ and baldness,³⁵ and dandruff,³⁶ and creeping of the head (*formicatio?*), and malignant eruption (*eczema* or *favus?*), and the *plica*,³⁷ and *pediculosis*. And from all kinds of fever, be it ephemeral, be it putrid, be it hectic,³⁸ and of the fever of . . .,³⁹ and from all kinds of disease caused by the overheating (literally, boiling) of the blood, and of redness of the body (*erythema*, *erysipelas?*), and from all kinds of boils which are engendered from sweat,⁴⁰ and dropsy,⁴¹ and coughing,⁴² and the bad and heavy exhalations which mount from the stomach to the brain,⁴³ and shivers (or rigidity⁴⁴). And from all kinds of the evil eye, so that she be like the seed of Joseph over whom the evil eye had no dominion as it is written: 'A fruitful bough is Joseph, a fruitful bough by a spring.'⁴⁵ And from all kinds of sorcery, and Shedim Lilin and Liliths, and injurious spirits, and destroyers and evil spirits,⁴⁶ and Na'amah,⁴⁷ and Mahlath, and Agrath (or Igrath), daughter of Mahlath,⁴⁸ and her train. And from all kinds of burning by fire, or its products, as a hot object or boiling water. And from all kinds of injury by water, and sinking in water (drowning), be it in the sea or in ditches, wherever there may be a danger in them. So that there may be fulfilled in her the verse of Scriptures: 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.'⁴⁹
- 9 And from the falling in of a wall, and the falling of stones,
- 10 and from all kinds of falling, be it in the house, be it in the street, be it on sea, be it on land, be it from ladders, wherever it may be. So that may be fulfilled in her the verse of the Scriptures: 'Though he fall, he shall not be cast down, for JHVH upholdeth his hand.'⁵⁰ And from all kinds of dread, fear, trembling and shock and horror, and stupor of the heart, and evil dreams, imaginings and visions⁵¹ and evil things (or words)⁵²;
- 11 and confusion and distraction of the mind.
- 12 And from pestilence and plague, wherever it may be, and epilepsy,⁵³ and running catarrh of the head.⁵⁴
- 13 And from all kinds of danger. Amen. Enduring for ever.

- 14 And mayest thou command the angel Ahabiel, who presides
over love and desire,⁵⁵ that he render her an object of favor
and grace and compassion
15 in thine eyes and in the eyes of all people, to the end,
16 that they all desire her love, so that she shall be
17 loved (or lovable)
18 in their eyes
19 as Tamar was in the eyes of Amnon
20 at the beginning,⁵⁶ and as the love between Jonathan
21 and David.⁵⁷
22 And may she be
23 honored in their eyes as a King is in the eyes of his serv-
ants, who love him and render him obedience. And may
she be delivered from all severe and evil decrees,⁵⁸
24 which come in upheaval upon the world.
25 Amen. Enduring for ever. Fear not nor be dismayed,
for with thee is JHVH thy God wherever thou goest.⁶⁰ I
wait for thy help, O JHVH.

⁵⁵ That is, the angels as the denizens of heaven, and mankind, living upon earth, constituting the two domains of JHVH's rule. Cf. the antithesis of אַרְאִלִּים (angels) and מַצּוּקִים (the oppressed צַרִּיקִים) in Kethub. 104a and of 'נ' and 'ת', applied to the reign of Solomon in Sanh. 20b. Parallel to it is the distinction between the פְּמִלְיָא שֶׁל מַעְלָה (*familia superior*) and מְטָרָא פְּמִלְיָא (*familia inferior*) in Berak. 17a; Sanh. 38b, 99b.

⁵⁶ That is, the Tetragrammaton, the separated and distinguished from all other names, cf. *Jewish Enc.*, II. 262.

⁵⁷ Referring to the golden frontlet (צִיץ), engraved with the words קָרַשׁ לַיהוָה, which Aaron wore on his forehead, Ex. 28. 36.

⁵⁸ הוּיּוּת, from הוּיָה, the various modes and manifestations of God's being, so that it may be rendered, the attributes, as in God substance and accident are identical. They probably refer to the attributes of JHVH enumerated in Ex. 34. 6f.

⁶⁰ Ex. chs. 4-14 *passim*.—It is interesting to compare with this form of invocation that of an Aramaic amulet published by Professor Montgomery in JAOS. 31 (1911). 273ff., where the appeal is made by the objects themselves: 'with the wand of Moses and the shining plate (נֹצֵץ) of Aaron the high priest . . .', which seems to imply the conception of a magic potency inherent in these paraphernalia which is still active after the things themselves have vanished (something like the *wakonda* or *orenda* of the Indians). The present amulet keeps on a higher, more spiritual, plane; in fact, it endeavors to remain within the fold of monotheism, though the very *raison d'être* of amulets, presupposing as they do the existence of a number of spirits, endowed with great power and enjoying a large measure of independence in their actions, constitutes a breach in the unity of God.

²⁰ תְּקוּפָה, properly, turn, cycle, then season. On the superstition connected with the changes of the seasons s. *Jewish Enc.* 12. 77.

²¹ Possibly of a corruption of וְשִׁרְתִּים, 'and their servants,' or 'servitors,' i. e., the angels who serve under the archons of the heavenly bodies.

²² Worn off so as to be illegible.

²³ מוֹל is used rather loosely in rabb. literature for constellation, planet, then fate, fortune. It would seem that the scribe of this amulet had simply accumulated names and terms without much regard to the niceties of the astrological definitions and distinctions.

²⁴ The first two angels named in 3 and 4 are familiar from the Biblical literature. בְּרִכְיָאֵל, praise of God; רַב, greatness of God; יְהוֹנָיָאֵל is considered by Schwab, *op. cit.*, 142 as a corruption of יְהוֹיָאֵל, one of the names of Metatron, and name of the angel ruling over Thursday; רִיב, exaltation of God, is according to Schwab (*ib.* 245), name of the angel who watches over the month of Adar (March-April), while יוֹר (*ib.* 118) is the name for Mars on Tuesday and for Jupiter on Thursday.

²⁵ For a detailed assignment of the rule of the planets to the days and hours and their changes in the four *tekufoth* cf. Rashi to Shabb. 129^b and Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, etc. under the names of the angels enumerated here; for the general belief in the appointment of angels 'for an hour, day, month, year,' cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, etc., 55, 56 and n. 31.

²⁶ Passes over from Imperf. to Imper. or Inf.

²⁷ Initials of מְנַשִּׁים בְּאֵהָל תַּכְרִיךְ, Jud. 5. 24.

²⁸ In amulets and prayers for the sick in general descent is reckoned by the mother, cf. Shabb. 66^b: כָּל מַיִינִי בְּשָׂמָה רֵאִימָה. 'All incantations (properly, countings, because the incantations were for efficaciousness repeated several times and therefore counted) are in the name of the mother.' If there be in this practice a lingering reminiscence of a matriarchal organization of society, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 49, n. 1, the Jews have no thought of it, but base it on Ps. 86. 16 and Ps. 116. 16: 'I am thy servant, the son of thy maid servant.'

²⁹ For a detailed enumeration of the parts of the human body s. Mishnah Ohal. 1. 8. The 248 members correspond to the same number of precepts (מִצְוֹת עֲשֵׂה) of the Torah, while the 365 ligaments (properly, veins, under which vague term the Talmud comprises the arteries, nerves, muscles, etc.) stand for the 365 prohibitions of the Torah (מִן לֹא תַעַל) as codified by the rabbis, cf. Yoma 75^b; Berak. 45^a.

³⁰ מוֹרֶסָה, Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. WB.*, s. v.: Blatter-pustula, blister, papula. Targ. of Prov. 26. 26 renders מִשְׁאֹן (destruction) by מוֹרֶסָה; the verb מָרַס, means to bruise, crush, and to stir, mix.

³¹ Properly, heaviness of, or pressure upon, the heart, the symptoms of the nightmare.

³² Literally, silence.

³³ כּוּץ in the original doubtless a mistake for כּוּצָה from כּוּץ, to compress, contract, squeeze.

³⁴ Properly, shaking, disturbance, of the limbs.

³⁵ 'Disease of the fox' (*alopecia*), from the resemblance of baldness to the mange in this animal.

"Literally, bran. The Greek word *πικρα* (or plur. *πικρα*) from which the medical term for this ailment, *pityriasis*, is derived, has the same meaning, on account of the resemblance of the thin scales, which exfoliate from the skin of the head, with the husks of grain which constitute the bran.

"קליער דש' most likely an error or a *lapseus calami* for קליעת, properly, braiding, plaiting of the hair, then, matting, clotting, the designation of the *placa polonica* in Hebr. medical works.

"Properly, thin; it is the fever which consumes the tissues and causes emaciation.

"שג'ה, unknown.

"Only the first two letters in the original are distinct; ווער (ו) fits into the context. S. the translation.

"Arab. سقي.

"Arab. سعال.

"Dr. C. C. McCulloh, Curator of the Army Medical Museum in Washington, was first to suggest that אסמאגוס might be a corrupted transcription of Spanish *estomago*. The whole phrase occurs in several of the Hebr. medical works with the spelling: אסמאגוס, confirming Dr. McC.'s guess. אסמא is the *scriptio plena*, so frequent in post-Bibl. writers of אס, Gen. 2. 6; cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaur. Totius Hebraeae*, i, 52 s. v. אס.

"Cf. ספר Ps. 119. 120: 'My flesh trembles,' and Piel, Job 4. 15: 'My hair stood.'

"Gen. 49. 22. Amulets for children often consist of this verse only, either inscribed and hung on their body or embroidered in some piece of their dress.—In explaining the immunity of the descendants of Joseph from the evil eye R. Abuha said: 'Read not עין עיל but עין עיל, i. e., rising above the power of the (evil) eye,' while R. Jose b. Hanina derives it from ויגן in Gen. 48. 16: 'As the fishes (דגים, denom. from דגה) in the sea are covered by the waters so that the evil eye has no power over them, so also it has no power over the seed of Joseph,' Berak. 20^a and 56^b.

"For a detailed definition of the names of the several categories of demons and the distinction between them s. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, § 12, p. 67ff. Rashi to Sanh. 109^a gives the following characterization of the Shedim, Ruḥin and Lilin: The Shedim have the form (צורה) of man and eat and drink like men; the Ruḥin have neither body nor form; while the Lilin have form of man but also wings, cf. also Nid. 24^b. In Hag. 16^a the possession of wings is also ascribed to the Shedim. It is said there of them that they share three qualities with men and three with angels: they eat and drink, and propagate, and die like men, but have wings, foreknowledge of the future, and can traverse the world from end to end like angels.

"Na'amah, daughter of Lamech and sister of Tubal-Cain (Gen. 4. 22), is in the demoniac hierarchy of the Kabbalah (alongside of Agrath and Lilith) queen of the demons, wife of Samael and mother of Ashmodai (Asmodeus), cf. *Jewish Enc.*, 4. 518.

⁴⁸ In rabb. literature, Pes. 112^b, Numb. Midr. R. 12. 3, a she-demon who roams through the streets on Wednesday and Saturday nights at the head of eighteen myriads of angels of destruction everyone of whom has by himself power to destroy.

⁴⁹ Is. 43. 2.

⁵⁰ Ps. 37. 24.

⁵¹ For the references to dreams and apparitions in incantations s. Montgomery, *op. cit.* 82f.

⁵² סל"ן means both.

⁵³ Already enumerated above under 7.

⁵⁴ Arab. نَزَلَ and كَلَّمَ.

⁵⁵ For the angels of love see Montgomery, *op. cit.* 178ff.

⁵⁶ That is, before the love turned into hatred, cf. 2 S. 13. 1 with v. 15.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1 S. 18. 1; 20. 17; 2 S. 1. 26.

⁵⁸ גזירה from גזר, to cut, split, turn, to decide, pass a sentence (cf. Latin *decidere*), Job 22. 28, hence, גזירה decision, decree, Dan. 4. 14; 5. 21. In Jewish usage the word has the specific meaning of unfavorable decrees against the Jews by the (non-Jewish) governments.

⁵⁹ Initials of אמן נצח סלה ועד.

⁶⁰ Cf. Deut. 31. 8.

The Geographical Foundation of Turkey's World Relation.—

By LEON DOMINIAN, American Geographical Society, New York, N. Y.

The region to which I am here inviting attention has occupied a conspicuous position on the stage of world events since the earliest known times. Faint rays of prehistoric light reveal it as the bridge over which the race of round-headed men crossed into Europe from Asia. During antiquity we find it to be the original seat of civilizations which radiate outward in every direction. In medieval times it is the great half-way station of the main artery of world trade. We know of it in modern days as the center of a mighty international struggle familiarly known as the Eastern Question for the past hundred years.

A world relation of such an enduring character must obviously rest on exceedingly firm foundations. A search for its causes leads us straight into the field of geography, where we find the three elements of position, form, and natural resources to be primarily responsible for the extraordinary interest which has always been coupled to the various names by which the region has been known. An investigation of these three phases of the country's geography is therefore in order. Before proceeding further I shall define this region as the Asiatic extension of Mediterranean lands nestling against the great central mountain mass of Asia. It is sharply separated from the rest of the continent by a mountain wall which extends continuously from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf and is made up of the Armenian and Zagros ranges. It is a peninsula itself formed by two distinct peninsulas. The region is one of the unit divisions of the Asiatic continent in the sense that it is the only part of the entire Asiatic continent subject to Mediterranean climatic influences. It is interesting, in this connection, because it is also endowed with political unity, as all of the Ottoman state falls at present inside these limits.

By position, first at the junction of three continents and, therefore, on the main field of history, secondly as the site of convergence of the great avenues of continental travel, and thirdly by its situation in one of the two regions in which climatic conditions proved most favorable for the early develop-

ment of humanity, Turkey at first scrutiny appears to have been eminently favored by nature. These advantages converted it into the meeting-place of societies which are generally associated with the three continents which the country unites. Aryan, Tatar, and Semitic peoples are well represented in the land.

In considering Turkey as the meeting-place of continental cultures it is necessary that we should confine our conception of the fact to the strictly literal sense of the term. The country is a meeting-place and nothing more. It has never been a transition zone physically and as a consequence there has been very little mingling of the different elements in its population. The very structure of the land deters fusion of the inhabitants into a single people. The interior upland rises abruptly above a narrow fringe of coastal lowland. Its surface features, consisting partly of deserts and of saline lakes, recall the typical aspect of Central Asia. On the other hand, the luxuriant vegetation of the maritime fringe reflects European characteristics. No better relic of Asia Minor's former land connection with Europe exists than this strip of the west soldered on the eastern continent. But the physical union is clean-cut and as a result the change from the low-lying garniture of green scenery to the bare tracts of the uplands is sharp. These features make of Turkey a land of strange contrasts. Its coasts are admirably washed by the waters of half a dozen seas and yet, in places, a journey of a bare twenty-five miles from the shore lands the traveler squarely in the midst of a continental district.

So diversified a country could not be the land of patriotism. And as we pick up the thread of its troubled history we find a woful absence of this spirit among its citizens. In Byzantine times as in Ottoman, a selfish bias towards local interests, a parochial attachment of the sordid type, pervades its population. A medley of peoples, each filling its particular geographical frame and animated by widely divergent ideals is constantly engaged in looking abroad rather than in the land for the attainment of their hopes. Nature fostered this condition. Communications between the different regions have always been arduous. From the narrow fringe of coastland to the interior plateau the ascent is steep. More than that, the maritime dweller of the lowland shunned the total lack of comfort which he knew awaited him on the arid highland of the core. Conversely the

indolent inhabitant of this elevated district realized that were he to settle near the marshes he could not compete successfully with the more active seafarers. As time went on the coastal peoples—mainly Greeks—accustomed themselves to look beyond the sea for intercourse with the outside world while the Turkish tenants of the interior land still kept in their mind's eye the vast Asiatic background out of which they had emerged.

In the same way the imposing barrier of the Taurus prevented contact between the occupants of the districts lying north and south of the mountain. The significance of this range to Europeans cannot be overestimated. The mountain has proved to be the chief obstacle to the northward spread of Semitic peoples and their civilizations. Successive waves of southern invaders, invariably of Semitic descent, whether highly civilized or drawn from tribes of savages, spent their fury in vain lashings against the rocky slopes. The past is verified historically whether we consider the failure of Assyrians in antiquity, of the Saracens during Middle Ages, or of the Egyptians and Arabs led by Mahomet Ali in modern days. The linguistic boundary between Turkish and Arabic occurs in this mountain chain at present and Hogarth has expressed the fact in a realistic phrase by stating that at an elevation of about 2,000 feet Arabic speech is chilled to silence.

To come back once more to position, we find that while this feature has generated an attracting force the shape of the land, on the other hand, promoted a constantly repellent action. We have in this situation a remarkable conflict which has exerted itself to the detriment of the inhabitants. The centripetal action of position was always reduced to a minimum by the centrifugal effects of form. The mountainous core formed by the Anatolian tableland and the western highland of Armenia could only be a center of dispersal of waters, and hence to a large degree of peoples. Accordingly throughout history we have a continuous spectacle of peoples swarming into the region only to be scattered immediately into new directions. Furthermore, however much the land partook of the character of a single unit with reference to the broad divisions of Asia, the fact remains that it was greatly subdivided within itself. The six main compartments into which it may be laid off have fostered totally divergent civilizations. I have dwelt on this in the last November Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.

All of these conditions were fundamentally fatal to the formation of nationality. They favored only intercontinental travel and trade.

In only one respect did position and structure operate harmoniously. Both agencies combined to create Turkey's relations with the world beyond its borders. This was facilitated by the admirable set of natural routes which led in and out of the country. Beginning with the broad band of the Mediterranean sea, land and water routes succeed each other in close sequence. The inland sea itself is prolonged through the *Ægean* and the Turkish straits into the Black Sea, the shores of which are dotted in swift succession by the terminals of great avenues from northeastern Europe, as well as all of northern and central Asia. On the European mainland the far-reaching Danube had an outlet into Turkey through the Morava-Maritza valleys in addition to its own natural termination. The Dnieper valley played an exceedingly important share in connecting Turkey with northern lands. To the east the trough-like recesses in the folds of the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan led to the great Tabriz gate beyond which the way as far as China lay open. A somewhat more winding course through these same mountains extended into the Mesopotamian valley, beyond which the Persian Gulf opened sea travel to centers of civilization of the monsoon lands or westward to the African coast. Land connection with the continent also existed by means of the rift valley of Syria where the beginning of the African rift system is found. Through the occurrence of all these channels of penetration the history of Turkey finds place as a special chapter in the history of the world's great nations. A greater share of responsibility falls on Turkey for this relation than on the Turks themselves.

The appearance and establishment of this people in a land which was not that of their origin follows their life as nomad tribesmen of the vast steppeland of Central Asia. They were men at large upon the world's largest continent, the northerners of the east, who naturally and unconsciously went forth in quest of the greater comforts afforded by southern regions. The vast flatland which gave birth to their race lies open to the frozen gales of the north. Its continental climate in turn icy cold or of burning heat was cut off from the tempering influences prevailing behind the folds of Tertiary mountain piles to the

south. And as the steppe-men migrated southward their gradually swelling numbers imparted density to the human mass they formed because expansion on the east or west was denied them. China and Chinese, admirably sheltered by barriers of deserts and mountains, stopped their easterly spread. So did Christianity in Russia, on the west, though at a heavy cost to the country for no obstacle had been raised by nature to meet their advance. The open plain of Central Asia merges insensibly into that of north Europe. That is why incidentally Russia is half Tatar to-day. The Asiatic was forced upon her. She sacrificed herself by absorbing him into her bosom, saving north-central Europe thereby from eastern invasions but forfeiting the advantages of progress.

Out off from East and West in this manner the only alternative left to the Turk was to scale the plateau region of western Asia and to swarm into the avenues that led him to conquered territory where he succeeded in attaining power and organizing his undisciplined hosts into the semblance of a state. The presence of the Turk upon the land on which he conferred his Mongolian name and the very foundation of the Turkish state can in this manner be attributed to outward causes rather than to local development. It was essentially a process of transplantation. The consolidation and rise to power of the Ottoman Empire between the close of the 13th century and the 16th were in themselves largely due to foreign conditions, for during that interval Europe was busily engaged in extirpating feudalism and objectionable phases of medieval clerical influences from its soil.

The world relation of Turkish lands antedates, however, the coming of the Turks by many a century. Problems summarized in the familiar appellation of the 'Eastern Question' have their origin in the existence of the narrow waterways consisting of the Dardanelles, Marmora, and Bosphorus. This watery gap has exerted profound influence in shaping the relation of Turkish territory to the outside world. The Eastern Question is as old as the history of civilization on this particular spot of the inhabited world. It could not be otherwise because fundamentally this momentous international problem is merely that of determining which people or nation shall control the strait. Who shall gather toll from the enormous transit trade of the region? This is the economic problem which has always

passionately agitated the leading commercial nations of the world. Its continuity is a proof of its geographical character. As long as these straits will exist at the point of nearest convergence of the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas, identical problems are bound to recur on their site. Beneath the shifting scenes of human events the abiding stage persists in directing them into its own channels.

Accordingly as early as in late Minoan times and surely in full Mycenaean period, some fifteen hundred or two thousand years before our era, we find the Eastern Question already vexing the world. It centers first around Troy, because the city commanded the southwestern outlet of the straits and played the same leading part in the history of its day as Constantinople has done since then. The shifting of the site to the northeastern end of the waterway represents the gradual spread of Hellenic influence in northeastern maritime territory.

We can only come to an adequate conception of the rôle of Troy in history by a clear understanding of the value of its site. The city was a toll-station. Its citizens accumulated wealth in the manner in which the burghers of Byzantium laid the foundations of their vast fortunes. Schliemann's excavations, although conducted with an unfortunate disregard of modern archeological methods, nevertheless are conclusive on the revelation of the existence of immense treasures represented by precious metals and jewelry. These riches may well be regarded as value paid for the right of the free passage of vessels and their freight in the straits. Nor is it strange to find that coeval with the decline of the Homeric city, the earliest mentions of Byzantium, its successor, appear. Consistently with this method of enlightening Trojan history it becomes possible to reach a rational understanding of Homer's classic epic, as Leaf has done in England, and regard it as the account of a secular struggle for the possession of an eminently profitable site. The testimony of history on the number of sieges which Constantinople has undergone is at least precise, although no literary masterpiece sheds lustre on the events. It is impossible to escape from the parallelism in the histories of Byzantium and Troy simply because the geographical background of both sites is similar in every respect. In the case of Troy, it meant convenient access to the Pontine rearland, probably the first El Dorado recorded by history—the land of

fabulous treasures in search of which the Argonautic expeditions were equipped. With Byzantium it meant drawing on the luxuries which Asia could supply from as far as the Pacific.

So much for the antiquity of the Eastern Question. I am now going to pass to another phase of Turkey's world relation, namely, that of the land's influence on the discovery of America. We now stand on the threshold of modern history in order to deal with a broad economic problem which affected late Medieval commerce and which was an ever recurrent theme in that splendid period of active human enterprise known as the Age of Discovery. The dominant idea of the day was to find means of facilitating east-west trade in the eastern hemisphere. I propose to review some of the facts bearing on this subject.

From the earliest times the commercial relations between the land of Cathay and Europe had been one-sided. The east sold and the west purchased. There was very little exchange. The products which came from the east could all be classed as luxuries. They constituted freight of small volume, but the value of which ran high. Precious stones, fine woods, essences, and spices composed the freight. These commodities had been shipped to Europe for about two millennia prior to the fourteenth century of our era. Overland, the caravans ploughed their way across the southern expanse of Russia's interminable steppe-land and penetrated finally into the plateaus of Iran and Anatolia. Their home-stretch lay in Turkey. By sea the traders were accustomed to end their journeys at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence the valuable wares would be shipped farther west via Mesopotamia. In this case again the home-stretch is found on Turkish soil. It was not until about the end of the 4th century B. C., when the Egyptian hamlet of Rhaecotis changed its name into that of Alexandria, that this sea route was extended into the Red Sea and Mediterranean. At this time the vision of acquiring wealth through the eastern trade began to dawn on the minds of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean seaboard. Many centuries were to elapse, however, before westerners realized that fortunes could be made by venturing into eastern fields. The profits and the splendor of the eastern trade were popularized by Christendom when the accounts of Marco Polo and the friar travelers of his time became available.

Then the ambition of every adventurous merchant was to act as middleman in the trade of Cathay.

The bulk of the east-west trade in Medieval time flowed through the same two main arteries. The northern land route from China through Central Asia passed through the Tabriz and Erzerum gates and ended at Trebizond, the balance of the journey being made by sea through the Bosphorus-Dardanelles way. The southerly course was an all-water route from the sea of China to the Mediterranean.

The incentive to reduce cost of transportation was as strong in those days as it is at present. The northern route being mainly over land was a source of incessant worry to the trader. The unrest which followed the appearance of Mohammedanism, the reluctance of the adherents of Islam to deal with infidels rendered commerce more and more risky. Transportation by land was slower and less profitable than by sea, as it is now. Caravans could not avoid brigandage as easily as ships could run the gauntlet of piratical depredation. It was not only a case of argosies reaching port but also of camels escaping highwaymen. In addition, duties had to be paid at four or five different points of transshipment. If we examine the pepper and ginger trade alone—the supply of both of which came from the east—we find that from Calicut, the great emporium of trade on the Malabar coast, these spices were carried by the Arabs to Jiddah and thence to Tor in the Sinaitic peninsula. Overland journeys began at the last point and extended to Cairo. From this city a river journey on the Nile to Rosetta followed, after which the freight was packed on camels and sent to Alexandria. All these conditions made for the increase of cost of the eastern wares which were supplied to Europe.

With the cost of eastern commodities rising higher and higher as land transportation became more and more hazardous the minds of navigators naturally turned to the possibility of discovering a seaway to India and Cathay. The incident of the discovery of America in the course of this attempt to lower prevailing freight rates was an inevitable consequence of economic conditions. The chief point of interest to us resides in the fact that the discovery which immortalized Columbus' name was accelerated through the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks in 1453.

The capture of the Byzantine capital came as the deathblow to an already declining commercial intercourse. Henceforth the Moslem was to stand guard at the western gate through which east-to-west intercontinental trade had passed. And there seemed to be no doubt that he was firmly resolved to prevent the Christian from traveling back and forth through his dominions. It meant the definite closing of the western gate to eastern commerce. The first evil effects of the Turkish conquest were felt by the Venetians and Genoese. The Venetians especially incurred the wrath of Mohammed the Conqueror on account of the aid they had rendered to the beleaguered capital. Greater leniency was shown by the Turks to the Genoese who had refrained from overt acts of sympathy toward the Byzantines.

The Sultans themselves as well as their ministers were willing to maintain the trade which traversed their lands. It left a share of its proceeds in the Turkish treasury. As a matter of fact the only commerce between Turkish lands under Mohammedan rule and the west has existed because of the income it brought to the Turkish government. But the barrier of religious divergences proved insurmountable to commerce. The great significance of the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire must be sought in its practically cutting off land communications between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. The impetus to westerly exploration was intensified. Before the fall of Constantinople the discovery of the western sea route to the east was regarded as highly desirable. It now became a necessity.

The possibility of reaching the Far East by a voyage through the pillars of Hercules had not been foreign to the active intellect of the Greeks and Romans, yet the incentive to undertake exploration did not acquire intensity until the latter half of the 15th century. The Turkish advance to western Asia came, therefore, as a shock, the impact of which forced trade out of the Mediterranean through the straits of Gibraltar into the wide Atlantic.

Another important result of the Turk's conquests in the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas was the diversion of the Eastern trade from European land routes into sea lanes. The change in the direction of intercontinental traffic impoverished the German-speaking inhabitants depending on the Danube artery of con-

tinental life to such an extent that their economic prosperity was lost. This state of things occurred at a time when the natural wealth of this central region was steadily drained by the all-powerful Vatican. The Reformation, which was as much a political move as it was religious, was therefore welcomed by the rulers of little states who grasped the opportunity of despoiling the Roman church of its landed property. The loss caused by the Turkish curtailment of trade was temporarily offset in this manner.

One of the effects of the extension of the Asiatic steppe to within sight of Mediterranean waters has been to carry the art of China from its Far Eastern seclusion to the very door of Europe. But as distance imparts faintness to the westerly migration of Chinese taste it is only in a stage of waning influence that we find it in Turkey. It is a result of the trickling of the Turkish element through the passes that connect the plateaus of Iran and Anatolia, for Persia has always been swayed by China in matters of elegance and art. At various stages of Persian history have entire colonies of Chinese artists been induced by the Shahs to take up residence in Persia. Many of the patterns on Oriental rugs bear traces of this Chinese influence and this influence in a way extends much farther west, for both in Europe and the New World the standards of taste in rugs and carpets have been raised conspicuously by the endeavor to reproduce the beauty of Oriental coloring and designing.

Turkish art is modelled on Chinese in the sense that its products had to conform to conventional patterns instead of imitating nature. It destroyed initiative and prevented the artist's imagination from soaring beyond defined limits, but powerfully realistic effects were nevertheless obtained. One has only to take up an illuminated manuscript to ascertain this. Persian manuscripts show Chinese characteristics to a large extent chiefly because the Persian school of art covered a wide range. It is the only one in Mohammedan countries to allow the representation of the human figure. But contiguity with Turkey had to make itself felt, so that occasionally, though very seldom, Turkish manuscripts with illuminations in which personages in various attitudes are portrayed can be met. The distinctly Mongoloid features of the faces delineated in these instances bespeak the origin of the art. The slit eye is gen-

erally present. It is mainly, however, in the ornamental borders devoid of human representation that Chinese features are found mingled with Arabic. The conventionalized representation of the cypress tree so common in Turkish decoration is an instance of the Far Eastern influence. Again in mosque interiors richly ornamented by displays of superb tiling the hand of Persian artists trained in Chinese methods can be discerned.

The introduction of Chinese decoration in Turkey is an innovation which follows Arabian influences by four or five centuries. It serves as a reminder of the Mongolian element in the Turk. Through contact with the Chinese the Mongols had attained a higher intellectual level than the Turks. Hulaku, the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, had included Chinese artists among the retainers he had brought into Western Asia. The tales of his period reveal Far Eastern fashions, and this is likewise true of the ogives found in the buildings of this time. But apart from these effects of the Turkish conquest China was known to the inhabitants of Anatolia through the overland silk trade, as is attested by Armenian records of the middle fifth century.¹

In literature also Turkey has taken lessons from the east and through the avenues created by the East-West troughs of the Armenian highland which debouch on the Persian plateau. A Turkish poet is not entitled to the qualification without having given proof of a required amount of deftness on the Persian lyre. Turkish poetry is in fact perhaps more indebted to Persian than to Arabic, the latter language being the mainstay of prose composition.

As to the present world relations of Turkey, I have outlined them in the April, 1916, issue of the *Geographical Review*. I shall summarize them briefly by stating that by its position the country lies squarely in the path of both Teutonic and Slavic advance. A natural course of expansion is leading Germany to the southeast across the Balkan peninsula into Turkey. The extension of frontiers required by Russia likewise determines Slavic conquest of Turkey. Overpopulation in the one case and the need of access to ice-free waters in the other make the contest inevitable. In both the problem is mainly economic.

¹ Yule, H.: *Cathay and the way thither*, Hakluyt Soc., London, 1915, pp. 93-94.

At bottom it is the modern phase of the Homeric struggle idealized in the *Iliad*. To-day the Teuton is merely heeding the call of the land, whereas the Slav is responding to the call of climate. These are geographical factors which underlie the contest.

Turkey, lying at Europe's very door, is a virgin field of exploitation. The undeveloped resources of this country are varied as they are immense. If properly exploited they will undoubtedly afford a splendid opportunity for the investment of capital. They have been neglected for more than 2,000 years. At the very dawn of the Christian era we find Strabo bewailing Roman indifference to Anatolian colonization and urging his countrymen to go forth and embark in commercial ventures in Asia Minor. The noted geographer dwells with particular insistence on the variety of the land's resources but we know that his foresight and exhortations were unheeded. The Byzantines barely scratched the land to supply their needs and the Turks who succeeded them did not even attempt as much. Turkey therefore awaits its conversion into European colonies in order to become productive. This condition adds its own attractiveness to the advantages of its position.

Although practically unexploited, the products of the country enjoy fame all over the world for their excellence. I shall only mention a few to recall the familiarity of the subject. Long before Australian mohair was known mohair came from the plateau regions between Angora and Konia. The raw silk of the Lebanon and of the Brussa district, famous for its mulberry trees, commands high prices in Europe to-day. And this is true of the past thousand years. The rugs which adorn western homes in Europe and America come principally from Asia Minor. The Persian Gulf yields an annual harvest of pearls. The tobacco of Anatolia, especially from the valleys debouching into the Black Sea, ranks among the choicest in the world. The dried figs of Smyrna, the oranges of Jaffa, and the olives of Palestine yield in excellence to none of their kind grown elsewhere. Arabia is a household name for good coffee and savory dates.

By means of irrigation Asia Minor and Mesopotamia can be converted into thriving agricultural districts. Experiments in cereal and cotton cultivation have already yielded excellent results, both on the Anatolian tableland and in the Cilician plains. The chief source of wealth of Turkey lies, however, in its

undeveloped mineral deposits. Practically every variety of ores is known to occur. The area of transition between the plateau of Iran and the Mesopotamian depression is characterized by the existence of oil fields. The fuel is known along the entire western border of the Turkish natural region. The mountainous core of the country is a natural store of metal. It is an area of land constriction due to the pressure exerted by the weight of part of the Siberian steppeland pressing against the Arabian tableland. In the folding brought about by the application of these forces, numerous channels tapping deep into the earth's interior were created. These openings became the areas of circulation for heavily mineralized waters. The rich contents of the core were brought up and deposited at the surface not only within the area of folding but beyond, as far as the effects of the disturbance were felt. To judge from the distribution of minerals, all of Turkey has been affected by these crustal movements. The deposits that have been found are generally known to be of considerable size. Their contents would probably have been exhausted had not capital abstained from taking risks in the presence of Turkish lawlessness and misrule. The partition of Turkey into European colonies will create a swift change in this attitude on the part of European investors.

Summing up, we find that we have dealt with a connecting region which may appropriately be considered as the classical case of its type in geography. A land which by its position was everyman's land, and which because of its geography was of greater interest to the foreigner than to its own inhabitants, being a part of three continents, was part of the life which grew on each. A nation formed on such a site belongs more to its neighbors than to itself. In this respect its future will resemble its past.

Indonesian l in Philippine Languages.—By CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. *Stability of original l.*—Indonesian *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD or RGH series) is one of the most stable of the original consonantal sounds of Austronesia. It remains unchanged in most languages of both Indonesian and Polynesian territory. Examples for initial and medial *l* are Indonesian *lima* 'five' and *walu* 'eight,' which retain the *l* unchanged, not only in a great majority of the Indonesian languages, but also in nearly all the Polynesian speech territory, e. g., Samoan, Fijian, and Hawaiian *lima*, Fij., Haw. *walu*, Sam. *valu*. A conspicuous exception to the general rule in Indonesia is the case of Malagasi, where, in certain dialects, notably the Merina, Betsimisaraka, and Antemuru, an original *l* quite regularly becomes *d* under certain conditions, chiefly before an original *i*, e. g., Merina *dimi* < IN *lima* 'five,' *fidi* < IN *pili* 'choose,'¹ but also initially before *a* and *u*, e. g., Merina *dahilahi* : Malay *laki-laki* 'male'; Merina *dumutrd* : Malay *lumut* 'moss.'²

In Philippine territory there are a few languages showing a sufficient variety of treatment of original *l* to justify special study of the phenomena as classified below.

2. *An l 'cockneyism' in Bisaya.*—The Bisaya language, spoken by three and a half millions of the Malayan population of the southern islands of the archipelago, has a number of dialects, chief of which are three, the Panayan, spoken in Panay and Occidental Negros; the Cebuan, spoken in Cebú, Oriental Negros, Bohol, and northern Mindanao; and the Bisaya of Samar and Leyte, spoken in these two islands. In certain parts

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Die Beziehungen des Malagasy zum Malayischen*, Lucerne, 1893, p. 26, and *Die Lauterscheinungen in den indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne, 1915, p. 32; also Ferrand, *Essai de phonétique comparée du malais et des dialectes malgaches*, Paris, 1909, p. X, footnote: (Merina) 'Improprement appelés Hova.' Brandstetter, in his monographs, continues the use of the traditional name, Hova, of the people and language called Merina by Ferrand.

² Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 119 f., and, for the examples here given, p. 36, 41.

of the Cebuan territory, notably in Cebú city and the surrounding towns, an intervocalic *l* of any origin is habitually dropt in colloquial pronunciation, e. g., *baái* (without hiatus) for *balái* 'house,' *saápi* for *salápi* 'money,' in both of which cases the *l* is original, and *waá* for *walá*, Fr. *il n'y a pas*, where, as shown by Bikol *wará*, the *l* is the RLD consonant. Compare also *gááb* for *gálab* 'sickle': Bikol *garáb*. So also *díi* for *dili*, 'not,' *gúa* (or *gúwa*) for *gúla* 'play' (noun and verb), *gúan* (or *gúwan*) for *gulan* 'ripe.' On the other hand, just as in the English cockney speech *h* is pronounst where it does not belong, e. g., 'owhever' for 'however,' so in Cebú and vicinity the insertion of a superfluous *l* is fully as common as the loss of *l* illustrated above, e. g., *galamitón* 'utensil' for *gamitón* from the root *gámit* 'use,' *saláusau* for *sáusau* 'splash,' *kalán'on* for *kán'on* 'food,' *ilímnon* for *ímnon* 'drink' from the root *inóm* (or *inúm*). But the Cebuan *l* cockney differs from the English *h* cockney in that the former has not become so fixt and regular as has the latter. The Cebuan's use of *l* where it does not belong is more comparable to the straining for correctness observd in the rustic 'killing chickengs in the gardeng on Thanksgiving morning.'

3. *Loss of intervocalic l in Sulu.*³—In Sulu, the speech of the Sulu (Spanish orthografy Joló) archipelago, which lies to the southwest of Mindanao, original *l* is lost with great regularity between like vowels, with resulting contraction to a single long vowel, e. g., Sula *sā* < IN *sala* 'fault, sin,' Sulu *hās*: Bikol, Bisaya *halas* 'snake,' Sulu *bī* < **bili* < IN *bēli* 'buy,' Sulu *pī* < IN *pili* 'choose,' Sulu *ō* (close *o*) < IN *ulu* 'hed,' Sulu *tō* < **tolo* < IN *tēlu* 'three.' Between two dissimilar vowels the *l* is retaind in some words and lost in others without any apparent rule, e. g., Sulu *balik*: Malay *balik* 'return,' *tuli*: Malay *tūli* 'def,' *bulan*: IN *bulan* 'moon,' *walu* < IN *walu* 'eight,' with retention of *l*, but Sulu *ūi* < IN *uli* 'turn,' *tāina* < IN *talina* 'ear.' An intervocalic *l* from RLD is also lost in not a few cases, e. g., Sulu *tōg*: Bikol *turóg*, Bisaya (Cebuan) *túlog*, Bagobo *tódog* 'sleep'; Sulu *kauhan* < **ka-luha-an* (Bis. Ceb. *kaluha'an*) 'twenty'

³ Blake, *Contributions to Philippine Grammar*, JAOS. 27 (1906), p. 333, 334, noted the loss of original intervocalic *l* in Tagalog and Sulu: 'An original intervocalic *l* is lost in Tagalog and Sulu,' without any reference to its retention in both languages in cases too numerous to be regarded exceptional.

from *duha*, IN *rua*, *lua*, *dua*, 'two'; but retained in others, e. g., Sulu *tālu* : Bikol *táro*, Bagobo *túdo* 'beeswax.' It is retained in Sulu *walá* 'not yet' (cf. Bikol *wará* 'there is not') but lost in this same word when the suffix *i* is added, Sulu *wāi* < **waai* < **wala-i* 'there is not' (cf. Cebuan *walái*, Samar-Leyte *warái*). Further examples of retention of the RLD *l* are such common words as Sulu *ilon* : Malay *hidon* 'nose' and Sulu *kāloh* : Malay *gādoh* 'make a noise.'

The loss of intervocalic *l* is much more extensive in Sulu than in any other language of the Philippines, but there is here no cockney use of *l* where it does not belong, as is found in the Cebuan dialect of Bisaya.

4. *Loss of intervocalic l in Tagalog.*—Tagalog loss of intervocalic (original) *l*, while very common, is far from universal, even between like vowels. Many words showing loss of *l* in Sulu retain it in Tagalog, e. g., Tagalog *sála* : Sulu *sā* 'fault, sin,' Tag. *úlo* : Sulu *ō* 'head,' Tag. *pili* : Sulu *pī* 'choose,' Tag. *bilí* : Sulu *bī* 'barter,' Tag. *suló* : Sulu *sō* 'torch,' Tag. *ulí* : Sulu *ūi* 'turn, repeat.' A few lose in Tagalog an original *l* that is retained in Sulu, e. g., Tag. *búan* : Sulu *būlan* 'moon,' Tag. *túid* (or *túwid*) : Sulu *túlid* 'straight.' Tagalog does not, like Sulu, contract two like vowels brought together by syncopation of *l*,⁴ but either leaves a hiatus, represented by *hamza*, as in Tag. *da'an* : Bis. *dalan* : Sulu *dān* 'way'; or inserts a secondary *h*, as in Tag. *báhai* : IN *balai* : Sulu *bāi* 'house'; or, in the case of a labial vowel, *u* (*o*), the labial glide *w*, as in Tag. *púwo* : IN *pulu* : Sulu *pō* 'ten.' Sometimes *h* takes the place of the lost *l*, even between *u*-vowels, as in Tag. *úhod* : Bisaya *úlod* : Sulu *ūd* 'worm,' which, however, is in Tagalog more commonly pronounced *úod* or *úwod*.

Tagalog and Sulu agree in retaining *l* between *a* and *i* in *bálik* 'return' and in dropping it between the same two vowels in Tag., Sulu *taina* < IN *talina* 'ear.' They also agree in retaining it in *walú* 'eight' and *dála* 'tung.' IN *balu* 'widowed' retains its *l* in Sulu *bālū* and formerly did in Tagalog *bálo*, which, however, has lost the *l* within the last two hundred years, becoming *báo*. Tag. *walá* 'left (hand)' retains an original *l* between two *a*'s as in Tag. *sála*. In the corresponding

⁴ Cf. Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 333, 334, and Conant, *The Pequet Law in Philippine Languages*, in *Anthropos* 7 (1912), p. 924.

Sulu *lāwa* < *walā* by metathesis, the *l* is retained, as regularly in initial position, the metathesis antedating the Sulu loss of intervocalic *l*.

In the material examined for this study there has been found no example of intervocalic loss of Tagalog *l* of the RLD series. Here again, Tagalog differs from Sulu and the Cebuan 'cockney' in that it seems to preserve a clearer distinction in pronunciation between the *l*'s of different origin.

Tagalog loses final *l* after *i* in a considerable number of root words, e. g., Tag. *bini* : Bis., Bkl. *bunúl* 'def,' where Tag. has *i* regularly for original *pepet* in both syllables; Tag. *hábi* : Iloko, Pang. *abél*, Pamp. *abál*, Bkl., Bis., Bagobo *hábul* 'weave'; Tag. *katí* : Tir. *katel*, Batán *katex*, Ibk. *katál*, Bis., Bagobo *katúl* 'itch.' Malagasi *hati* 'itch' agrees with Tag. in the loss of final *l*.⁵ In all the above examples the vowel of the final syllable is from *pepet*. Final *l* is lost after an original *i* in Tag. *tapí* : Phil. *tapil* 'flatten.' But Tag. final *l* is retained in reduplicated bases of the type Tag. *sílsíl* : Phil. *sělsěl* 'repent,' and frequently in other roots, e. g., Tag. *gítíl* 'pluck,' *kípíl* 'pellet.' The Tag. development is doubtless the same as in Fr. *gentil*.

5. *Loss of intervocalic l in Bontok.*⁶—The Bontok Igorots, celebrated for their cultivation of rice by the terracing of their mountainous province in North Luzón, are representatives of the most primitive of the Philippine Malays. Bontok shows loss of intervocalic *l* in a number of words, e. g., Bont. *fáan* < IN *bulan* 'moon,' *fāōi* < IN *balai* 'house,' *úweg* : Pangasinan *ulég* : Malay *ular* 'snake,' the last example inserting the labial glide *w*, as does Tagalog *puwo* < IN *pulu* 'ten.' In Bontok, 'ten' is generally pronounced *pōo*, but *pōlo* is also heard. The loss is, however, less common in Bontok than in Tagalog. The *l* is retained in Bontok *čálan* : Tag. *dá'an* : Sulu *dān* < Philip. *dalán* 'way'; *tólo* 'three'; *ólo* 'head'; *ili* : Iloko *ili* 'town'; *pili* 'choose'; *wálo* 'eight'; *čila* : Tag. *díla* 'tong'; *pilai* < IN *pilai* 'lame.'

⁵ Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 121, 122, who also gives examples of loss of final *l* after other vowels in *Mg*.

⁶ Authorities consulted for Bontok: Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, in *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. 1, Manila, 1905; Clapp, *Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as Spoken by the Bontoc Igorots*, in *Div. of Eth. Pub.*, vol. 5, part 3, Manila, 1908; Seidenadel, *The Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot*, Chicago, 1909.

The *l* that regularly represents the RGH consonant in Bontok⁷ is lost in Bontok *wát* < **uwát* < **uát* < **ulát* : Tag. *ugát* 'vein,' but retained in Bontok *falá* : Tag. *bagá* : Iloko *bará* 'lung.'

Bontok changes final *l* to *i* in *aföi* : Pang. *abel* 'weave'; *kätöi* : Ibk. *katál* 'itch.'

6. *Loss of intervocalic l in Kankanaí.*⁸ The language of the Kankanaí Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, drops intervocalic *l* in Kankanaí (*sim*)*pó* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *búwan* : IN *bulan* 'moon'; *waó* < IN *walu* 'eight'; but retains it in *díla* 'tung,' and in *toló* 'three.' The RGH consonant regularly becomes *l* in Kankanaí.⁹ This *l* is lost in Kankanaí *uwat* : IN *urat, ugat, uhat* 'vein,' which, like Kankanaí *búwan*, has the labial glide *w*.

7. *Loss of intervocalic l in Samal.*¹⁰ The language of Samal Island, Gulf of Davao, South Mindanao, quite regularly drops intervocalic *l*, e. g., Samal *toó* < **tolo* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *makasasaá* : Phil. *makasasala* 'sinner,' without contraction of the concurrent like vowels, but *po* < **polo* < IN *pulu* 'ten' with contraction; *waó* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

Loss of original *l* is rather rare elsewhere in Indonesia and Polynesia. In Indonesian territory, the Vonum¹¹ dialect of Formosa regularly loses intervocalic *l*, and may lose it initially also, e. g., Vonum *ima* 'hand' beside *hima* 'five,' both from IN *lima* (see below, par. 12). Botel Tobago (the speech of an island of that name S. of Formosa) loses intervocalic *l* in some words and changes it to *r* in others. Initially it is *l* or *r*. In Polynesian territory there is one language, that of the Marquesas Islands, which loses original *l* in all positions.

⁷ See my *RGH Law in Philippine Languages*, JAOS. 31 (1910), p. 78.

⁸ Scheerer, *The Batán Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages*, in *Div. of Ethnol. Pub., Bu. of Science*, vol. 5, part 1, Manila, 1908, was furnished a Kankanaí word list by Mariano Lagasca of Kapangan village. In 1903 I collected a list of fifty words from eight Kankanaí boys at Baguio, Benguet.

⁹ Cf. Conant, *RGH Law*, p. 73, 74.

¹⁰ Material from Montano, *Rapport à M. le ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission aux îles Philippines et en Malaisie* (1879-1881), Paris, 1885.

¹¹ Material for Vonum and Botel Tobago from Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheinnungen*, p. 32, cites Boano *bae* (IN *balai*) 'house.'

VONUM	BOTEL TOBAGO	MARQUESAS ¹²	INDONESIAN	
vão	wao	vau	walu	eight
	pou or po	huu	pulu	ten
tão	a turu	tuu	tělu	three
ima or hima	lima or rima	iima	lima	five
taina		puaina	taliña	ear

The Melanesian languages of British New Guinea¹³ quite regularly lose an original *l* in all positions, e. g., *toi*, *koi*, *oi* (IN *tělu*); *ima*, *imaima* (IN *lima*); *taia*, *kaia*, *haia* (IN *taliña*) 'ear.'

An Indo-European parallel is the regular loss of intervocalic *l* in Portuguese, e. g., *ceo* < *caelu*, *só* < *solu*, *voar* < *volare*, where like vowels contract as in Sulu.

8. *Original l in Mandaya.*¹⁴ The Mandaya speech of East Mindanao loses *l* in Mandaya *óo* < IN *ulu* 'hed'; *dan* < Phil. *dalan* 'way'; *buahan* : Bisaya *bulahan* 'fortunate'; *kawá* : Banuáon *kawalá* (*ka*+*wala*, cf. Tag., Bis., Bkl. *walá*) 'left (hand),' but retains it in *atúli* : Bkl. *iloko tulí* 'earwax' and *taliña* 'lug, projection' : Bkl. *taliña* 'ear, lug.' Final *l* regularly becomes *i* in Mandaya, e. g., *buibúi* : Tag., Bis., etc. *bulbúl* 'pubic hair'; *ábui* : Bis., Bkl. *hábol* 'weave.' Furthermore, this tendency to palatalize *l* to *i* or *y* is seen even in intervocalic position, where, in some words *l* may be either lost or changed to *y*, e. g., Mandaya *sáup* or *sáyup* : Bis *sálop* 'set (of heavenly bodies)'; *páyad* or *pái'ad* : Tag., Bis., Pampanga *pálad* 'palm (of hand),' another example of Tag. retention of *l* between like vowels. The change of *l* to *i* or *y* is regular in Palau (Caroline Islands),¹⁵ e. g., Palau *búiel* < IN *bulan* 'moon' and Palau *púi* < IN *bulu* 'pubic hair,' which is exactly parallel with Mandaya *buibúi* given above, this being the reduplicated IN *bul(u)bul(u)*.

¹² Examples from Mosblech, *Vocabulaire océanien-français et français-océanien des dialectes parlés aux îles Marquises, Sandwich, Gambier, etc.*, Paris, 1843.

¹³ Ray, *The Languages of British New Guinea*, in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 24 (1894) p. 15-39, and *Polynesian Linguistics: Past and Future*, in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.*, 21, no. 2, p. 65-76.

¹⁴ Material furnished by Mr. J. M. Garvan to Mr. E. E. Schneider for his *Notes on the Mangyan Language*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, vol. 7, no. 3, sec. D, Manila, 1912.

¹⁵ Cf. Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 8, 9.

For *l* > *i* or *y* in Isinai, see 9. Brandstetter¹⁶ has pointed out the change of intervocalic *l* to *y* in Bare'e (Central Celebes), e. g., Bare'e *jaya* : Malay *jalan*, Bis. *dalan* 'way.' For Indo-European analogies, compare the French *l* (*ll*) *mouillé* and the change of Latin *ll* to American Spanish *y* as in *caballo*, American pronunciation *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages.¹⁷

9. *Original l in Isinai*.¹⁸ The speech of the Isinai mountaineers of central North Luzón retains original *l* unchanged except when brot into contact with an initial consonant thru loss of an intervening atonic vowel, in which case the *l* becomes *i* (*y*), e. g. Isinai *tiu* < **thu* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *piu* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *lia'i* < **lla'i* < *lalaki* reduplicated form of IN *laki* 'male'; *wiu* (or *weu*) < IN *walu* 'eight.'

10. *Original l in Sambali*. Sambali, spoken in the province of Zambales, West coast of North Luzón, is divided into several dialects. One of these, that spoken in and around the village of Bolinao, regularly changes original *l* to *r*. It also regularly has *r* in all cases where the other Sambali dialects hav a non-original *l*. The words in the following table ar taken from Reed.¹⁹

SAMBALI OF BOLINAO SAMBALI OF IBA SAMBALI-AETA

óro	ólo	ólo	hed
díra	díla	díla	tung
ránit	lánit	lánit	sky
búran	búlan	búan	moon
táro	tólo	tátlo	three
káro	kálo	kálo	eight
ríma	líma	líma	five
púro	pólo	po	ten

The above examples show original *l*; the following the *l* of the RLD series.

¹⁶ *Lauterscheiningen*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Cf. Szinyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 43.

¹⁸ Cf. Conant, *Grammatical Notes on the Isinai Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 290.

¹⁹ W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, 2 (1904), part 1.

SAMBALI OF

BOLINAO

rúa

sára

báker

ránóm

SAMBALI OF IBA

lúa

ríla

bákil

lánóm

SAMBALI-AETA

lúa

híla

bákil

lánóm

two

they

mountain

water

In the Sambali-Aeta we have again sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, as seen in *búan* and *po* of the above table.

In several Indonesian languages original *l* becomes *r* by assimilation to an *r* of the same word. Languages regularly showing this assimilation are Toba, Ngaju (Dayak), Malagasi, Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the last four of which are Philippine languages. Examples are Toba, Ngaju *rayar* beside Malay *layar*, Tag. *layag* 'sail'; Toba *rarat*, Malagasi *raratrā* beside Malay *larat* 'scatter'; Iloko, Toba, Ngaju *ruar* beside Sundanese *luar* 'outside, except'; Bikol *rúra* beside Samar Bisaya *lára* 'weave matting'; Tirurai *rebur* beside Malay *lebur* 'roil, disturb' (where final *r* in both Tirurai and Malay is the RGH consonant); Bagobo, Tirurai *roros* beside Samar Bisaya *loros* 'lower (sail, etc.)'. In all these languages *l* becomes *r* only under assimilative influence, the change not being spontaneous as in the cases under special consideration in this paper.

In the Gayo²⁰ language of Sumatra, *r* often stands in the place of Indonesian *l* as the result of metathesis according to the following rule: In Gayo words having both *l* and *r*, the order of the two liquids must be *rl*, never *lr*. If the liquids stand in the order *lr* in other languages, metathesis takes place in Gayo.

Arabic, Malay <i>lahir</i>	Gayo <i>rahl</i>	evident
Malay <i>larat</i>	Gayo <i>ralat</i>	extend, spread
Malay <i>luruh</i> , Toba <i>ruru</i>	Gayo <i>ruluh</i>	fall (as leaves)

In a large number of Formosan dialects *l* quite regularly becomes *r* in all positions. In a smaller number it sometimes remains and is sometimes changed to *r*. A dialect in which the change is regular is the Favorlang, e. g., Favorlang *rima* 'hand' (IN *lima*); *tarran*²¹ (Bisaya *dálan*) 'way'; *torroa* (IN *tělu*) 'three'; *čarrina* (IN *talína*) 'ear'; *tazirra* (Bis. *dila*) 'tung.'

²⁰ Hazeu, *Gajösch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia, 1907.

²¹ The Favorlang words here given are copied from Rev. Wm. Campbell's edition of Happart's *Favorlang Vocabulary*, London, 1896. For further examples of *l* > *r* in Formosan dialects, see Scheerer's comparative list of Philippine and Formosan numerals in his *Batán Dialect*, table I, opp. p. 89.

Among the scores of Borneo languages and dialects compared in Ray's monumental work²² there are a dozen dialects of the so-called Land Dayaks of the south-western corner of Sarawak, West Borneo, that, with varying regularity, change original *l* to *r*. Only one of the Land Dayak dialects given by Ray, the Milikin, retains the *l* in all positions.

DIALECT	<i>five</i>	<i>sky</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>bone</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>tung</i>
Lara	rima	lanit	taru	turañ	kurit	—
Lundu	rimo	—	taru	tulañ	kulit	jera
Krokong	—	lonit	—	turañ	kurit	jora
Singhi	rimūch	rōnit	taruch	turañ	kurit	jorah
Grogo	limo	lanit	taru	tulañ	kulit	jora
Sennah	—	rañgit	—	turach'n	kurit	jěrah
		(rañit)		(turañ)		
Quop	rimūh	rañit	taru	turañ	kurit	jura
Sentah	rimūch	lanit	taruch	tulañ	kurit	jura
Beta	rimūh	rañit	taruh	turañ	kurit	jura
Sau	limo	lonit	taru	—	—	jurah
Sadong	rimōh	rañit	taru	turañ	—	jeli
Milikin	—	lanit	—	tulon	kulit	delah
Bunau	—	riñit	—	—	kurid	—

Of the Polynesian languages, the Tahitian and the Rapanui (Easter Island)²³ regularly change *l* to *r*, e. g., Tah., Rap. *rima* 'five'; Tah. *fare*, Rap. *hare* : IN *balai* 'house'; Tah., Rap. *varu* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

For Indo-European changes of original *l* to *r*, compare the Indo-Iranian *r* < I. E. *l*, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines' : Avestan *raocah-* 'light' : O. Persian *rauča* 'day' : Armenian *lois* 'light' : Gr. *λευκός* 'white' : Lat. *lūx* : Gothic *liuhap*, 'light' : Lithuanian *laukas* 'pale light.' Compare especially the Sanskrit confusion of *l* and *r*, even in the same root, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines,' but *locana* 'eye.' For Romance, compare the Rumanian and Portuguese change of Latin *l* to *r* under certain conditions, e. g., Rum. *care* < Lat. *quale*; Port. *prazo* : Span. *plazo* < Lat. *placitum*.

²² Ray, Sidney H., *The Languages of Borneo*, in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. 1, no. 4 (November, 1913).

²³ Cf. Jausen, *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue maorie, dialecte tahitien*, Paris, 1860, and Churchill, *The Rapanui Speech and the Peopling of Southeast Polynesia*, Washington, 1912.

The non-existence of *l* in the Japanese is well known. All Chinese loan words having the sound *l* change this to *r* in Japanese.

The reverse is the case in Chinese, which, in most dialects of importance, has only *l*.

In Korean, the same character is used for *l* and *r*, showing that the two sounds were originally not sufficiently distinct to require different symbols.

11. *Original l in Inibaloi*.²⁴ The Ibaloi Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, regularly change an initial *l* to *d*. In this Inibaloi agrees with Merina and other *dialectes à dentale*²⁵ of Madagascar.

	INIBALOI	MERINA	
IN laki	daɣi	dahi	male
IN lima	dima	dimi	five
IN lañit	dañit	dañitrâ	sky

Other examples for IN initial *l* in Inibaloi are *dana* : Phil. *lana* 'oil'; *daman* : Tag., Pamp. *laman* 'flesh'; *duson* : Tag. *luson* 'mortar.'

Inibaloi is very closely related to the Pangasinan, its next-door neighbor to the South. A Pangasinan *l* of any origin is treated like original *l* in Inibaloi, e. g., Inib. *dúpa* : Pang. *lúpa* : Malay, Toba *rupa* < Sansk. *rūpa* 'face.' This is, of course, not the RLD consonant, which would become *d* initially in Pangasinan, as in *duá* 'two,' but is the RL consonant seen in *ribu*, *libu* 'thousand,' *surat*, *sulat* 'write' and in many words borrowed from Sanskrit and Arabic.

Any Pangasinan *l*, original or otherwise, becomes *d* in Inibaloi when in contact with *i*, except after *či* < *dī* (*d* of RLD), e. g., Inibaloi *idóko* : Pang., Iloko *ilóko* 'Iloko'; *Manida* : Pang. *Manila* 'Manila'; *tañida* < IN *talina* 'ear' by metathesis, cf. Magindanao *tanila*; *sadi* : Pang. *salí* 'foot'; but *čilá* : Pang. etc. *dílá* 'tung.' Evidently, the Inibaloi change of initial *d* (RLD) to *č* was later than that of *l* > *d*, the retention of the original *l* in Inibaloi speech being at first to avoid the repetition of the dental in such a form as **dida*. The *l* thus remained long

²⁴ Scheerer, *The Nabaloi Dialect*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, vol. 2, part 2, Manila 1905, p. 102, has called attention to the Inibaloi change of *l* to *d*.

²⁵ See Ferrand, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. xlii.

enuf to establish itself permanently before the change $d > \check{d}$ had taken place. The same change of *l* to \check{d} in contact with *i* is regular in Batán. (See below, 12.)

But a large number of cases of Inibaloi change of *l* to \check{d} in non-initial position are found alongside a smaller number in which the *l* remains unchanged.

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
badat	Tag., Pamp. balat	skin
exduk	Tag. itlog	egg
Igúdut	Pang. Igólót	Igorot
takdai	Pang. taklai	arm
sudat	Pang. surat, Tag., Malay surat	write
bado	Pang. balo, Tag. bago	new
abada	Pang. abala, Ilk. abaga	shoulder

With *l* unchanged:

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
bulan	IN bulan	moon
gualo	IN walú	eight
pulo	IN pulu	ten
baló	IN balu	widowed
čala	Pang. dala, Ib. daga	blood

12. *Original l in Batán.*²⁰ The Batán language, spoken on the three islands, Batán, Sabtang, and Iyuhos, lying off the North coast of Luzón, changes original *l* to χ at the end of a syllable, to *h* before vowels except when preceded or followed by *i*, and to \check{d} in contact with *i* when a vowel follows.

Examples of Batán $\chi < IN\ l$:

²⁰ Sources: Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*; Dominican missionaries (not named), *Nu Mapia Amigo anmana Devocioanrio du chirin nu Ibatán*, Manila, 1901; *Visitas du Santísimo caní Santa María*, Manila, 1901; Franco de Paula and Nicolás Castaño, *Diccionario Español y Batán* (Date and place uncertain. About two hundred items of this work have been copied by Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, Vol. 2, Madrid, 1896, (Prólogo, p. xiii-xix); José Rodríguez, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana*, Manila, 1834 (reprinted by Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 260-306); *Diccionario Español-Ibatán por Varios PP. Dominicos Misioneros de las Islas Batanes*, ed. by Scheerer, Manila, 1914; Conant, a list of two hundred words compiled at Aparri and Clavería, North coast of Luzón, 1904, 1905. The Batán change of *l* to *h* or χ was pointed out in my *RGH Law*, p. 82, and *Pepet*

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
akteχ	Mgd. katel, Ib. katal, Bis. katul	itch
seχseχ	Pang. selsel, Bis. sulsul, Ib. tattal	repent
tuxtuχ	Ib. *tuttul (<tultul)	forge
aχpet	Ilk. lipit	cover
iχtau	Tag. litau	float

The first example and the last two show secondary metathesis in the first syllable, a very common trait of Batán, in which respect it closely resembles Pampanga.²⁷

Examples of Batán *h* < IN *l*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
hañít	IN lañit	sky
hakái	IN laki	male
husuñ	Tag. lusoñ	mortar
vahái (bahái)	IN balai	house
wahó	IN walu	eight
uhó	IN ulu	hed
tuhai	IN tulai	bone

Examples of Batán *ǎ* < IN *l* in contact with *i*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
dima	IN lima, cf. Inib. dima, Mlg. dimi	five
disaa	Tag. lisá, Ilk. lis'á	nit
dičod	Tag. likód	back
divun	Bis. libón	surround
tadiña	IN taliña	ear
padit	IN palit	sell
rida	Tag., Bis. dila	tung

Law in Philippine Languages, in *Anthropos*, vol. 7 (1912), p. 940. Batán *h* and *χ* are both represented in Span. orthography by *j* in all the works given above except the two printed by Retana, where *g* is everywhere employed. It was on the basis of these two sources that Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 334, speaks of the change of *l* to *g*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheiungen*, p. 32, also still quotes Batán as one of the several languages changing *l* to *g*, doubtless on the basis of the same material. Scheerer, in his *Notas sobre la fonología del Batán* introducing his edition of the *Diccionario Español-Ibatán*, has stated the rule (pp. xv, xvi) as to Batán *h* and *χ*, but makes no reference to the *l* > *ǎ* change, tho he has accidentally given an example of it under another hed (*tadiña* par. ii).

²⁷ Cf. my *Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga*, JAOS. 31 (1911), p. 390.

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
pidai	Tag., Ibk. pilai	lame
idi	Ilk. ili	town
vidi	Tag. bili	buy
pidi	IN pili	choose

Original *l* also appears to become *d* in the combination *tl* before any vowel, cf. Batán *tatdú* < **tatlu* < **tetlu* 'three' and *atden* < **atlen* < Phil. *těln* 'swallow.' The same root *těln* appears in Batán *tetexnan* 'gullet' with reduplication of the first syllable and the locativ suffix *-an* : *te-texn-an* < **te-teln-an*, lit. 'place of swallowing,' in which form the *l* becomes *χ* according to rule.

The *l* > *h*(*χ*) development is quite rare in Indonesian. Brandstetter²⁸ says *l* becomes *h* in Formosan dialects in certain cases and gives as example 'Fm. *who*' (IN *ulu*) without naming any dialect. Scheerer²⁹ gives the same word, *who*, as the word for 'hed' in the dialect cald Pei Po Kuvarawan. But all the other words of that dialect cited by Scheerer show *r* for original *l*, e. g. *vūran* (IN *bulan*), *waru* (IN *walu*), *rima* (IN *lima*), except *tusu* (IN *tělu*) 'three' whose *s* is doubtless due to analogy, the *s* of PPK *isa* 'one' being first extended to *dusa* (IN *rua*, *lua dua*) 'two,' a thing which has taken place in sixteen other Formosan dialects, according to the examples given by Scheerer, and one step farther in this particular dialect, giving *tusu* insted of **turu* which we should expect. A glance at Scheerer's table of the cardinal numerals in Formosan dialects shows so great a prevalence of the *l* > *r* change as to make it well-nigh a characteristic of Formosan speech. In looking over the entire Formosan material of Scheerer's remarkable collation, I find only one other example of *h* in the place of IN *l*, that of Vonum *hima* (IN *lima*), in which dialect *l* is regularly lost, e. g., *ima* 'hand,' *voan* (IN *bulan*) 'moon,' *tāo* (IN *tělu*) 'three,' *vāo* (IN *walu*) 'eight' (cf. 7, above).

In view, therefore, of the isolated *h* of PPK *who* (IN *ulu*), which is possibly erroneously written for *uro*, and of Vonum *ima* beside *hima* (IN *lima*) 'five' or 'hand,' showing that, even initially, *l* does not always become *h* in Vonum, it would appear that a Formosan *l* > *h* change is too uncertain to justify its citation as an example. On the other hand these same dialects

²⁸ *Lauterscheiningen*, p. 32.

²⁹ *Batán Dialect*, p. 44.

might well have been used by Brandstetter to exemplify the $l > r$ change instead of Toba, where the change is not spontaneous, but due to assimilation, e. g., Toba *rapar* (Mal. *lapar*), and hence occurring only in words having an assimilating *r*.

13. *Original l in Ilongot (Egongot).*³⁰ In Ilongot, the speech of a very primitive tribe of the North Luzón mountains, Indonesian *l* regularly becomes *g*, as indicated in the native pronunciation of the tribal name itself, *Igongot* or *Egongot*.

ILONGOT	NON-ILONGOT	
tego	IN tēlu	three
gema 'hand'	IN lima	five
gake	IN laki	male
uge	IN uli	again, back
degin	Pang. dálin	erth
tegteg	Pang., Ilk. selsél, Tag. silsíl, Bis. sulsúl, Pamp. salsál, Ibk. tattál, Batan sexsex	crush, squeeze, make penitent

In the last example, *tegteg*, where the vowel is from IN *pepet*, Ilongot changes IN *s* to *t*, as in Ilongot *ta-m-poo* (Pang. *sam-polo*) lit. 'one ten,' where *ta* < IN *sa*, the accentless by-form of IN *ša* 'one,' and as in Ilongot *ta-m-bian* 'five,' lit. 'one portion,' where *bian* is identical with Pang. *bian* 'to apportion.' Ilongot *poo* (IN *pulu*) points to a sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, presumably only between like vowels.

14. *Recapitulation.*—(a) Original *l* remains unchanged in the majority of Austronesian languages and also in the majority of Philippine idioms, notwithstanding the considerable number in which it is lost or changed (1).

³⁰ The Ilongot words are taken from a MS copy in my possession of an old manuscript *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana en Egongot* revised at Bantangan, Principe (now Tayabas) Province, 1792, by three friars, Casimiro de Tembleque, Tomás Marti, and Francisco de la Zarza. This catechism has been published by Blumentritt, *Katechismus der katholischen Glaubenslehre in der Ilongoten-Sprache verfasst von P. Fray Francisco de la Zarza, in Druck gelegt und mit Aequivalenten des Ilongot-Textes in spanischer, beziehungsweise tagalischer und maguindanauischer Sprache*, Vienna, 1893. Scheerer, in an interesting article *On a Quinary Notation among the Ilongot of Northern Luzón*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, 6 (1911), p. 47-49, has called attention to the Ilongot change $l > g$.

(b) Loss of intervocalic *l* occurs in the *l*-cockney speech of the Bisaya of Cebú city and vicinity (2), in the Sulu language, with resulting contraction of like vowels (3), in Tagalog, but without resulting contraction of like vowels, the lost *l* being replaced in some words by a breathing (*h*) or by a labial semi-vowel (*w*) as a glide (4), in Bontok with varied treatment of the concurrent vowels (5), as also in Kankanai (6), Samal (7), and Mandaya (8). In non-Philippine Austronesian territory the same loss is observed in the Formosan dialects Vonum and Botel Tobago, in Boano, in the speech of the Marquesas islanders (7), and in a number of Melanesian languages of New Guinea (7). For Indo-European, the same loss is regular in Portuguese (7).

(c) Final *l* is often lost after *i* in Tagalog, with which is compared the Malagasi loss of final *l* and the French final *l*-*mouillé* of *gentil* (4). This development is of the same nature as the change of *l* to *i* (*y*) summarized in the following paragraph.

(d) Original *l* becomes *i* (*y*) in Bontok, when final (5), in Mandaya regularly in final position and frequently between vowels (8), and under certain conditions in Isinai (9). Beyond Philippine territory, the same change is regular in intervocalic position in Bare'e, and in all positions in Palau (Caroline Is.) except in the combination *bl*. Indo-European parallels to this change are the French *l* (*ll*)-*mouillé* and the American *y* pronunciation of Spanish *ll*. Certain Finno-Ugrian languages show the same change.

(e) Original *l* becomes *r* in the Bolinao dialect of Sambali (10). Where *r* appears in place of *l* in the Philippine languages Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the change is due to assimilation with an *r* of the same word, as is the case in Toba, Ngaju, and Malagasi. In non-Philippine Austronesian territory, *l* becomes *r* in a number of Formosan and Borneo languages and in two Polynesian languages, Tahitian and Rapanui. Indo-European parallels to the *l* > *r* change are found in Sanskrit, Avestan, Persian, Rumanian, and Portuguese. In Japanese all *l*'s become *r*, and in Korean the same character is used for both liquids (10).

(f) Original *l* becomes *d* in Inibaloi, regularly in initial position and frequently in other positions (11), and in Batán when in contact with *i* and when followed by a vowel (12). In extra-Philippine territory the same change takes place in the *dialec-*

tes à dentale of Madagascar (1, 11). Batán changes *tl* to *td* before any vowel (12).

(g) Original *l* becomes χ at the end of a syllable in Batán (12).

(h) Original *l* becomes *h* in Batán before a vowel, except when preceded or followed by *i* (12).

(i) Original *l* becomes *g* in Ilongot (13).

15. *Conclusion*.—It has been the object in the preparation of this paper, merely to trace and classify the various sounds evolved from original *l* within Philippine territory, with some reference to similar changes elsewhere in Austronesia and in other families of speech. The treatment of any non-original *l* (from RLD, RGH, or RL) has been purposely avoided except in those cases where all *l*'s have fallen together and suffered the same later development.

Sources of the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.—By FRANKLIN
EDGERTON, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The more I study the Upaniṣads, the more I become impressed with two things:

1. The Upaniṣads as a whole proclaim no philosophical system, nor anything that even remotely resembles a single, unified philosophical system. And:

2. Every idea contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts.

Neither of these propositions is new. Probably most occidental scholars would subscribe to both. Yet—to speak of the first proposition first—there is noticeable in our standard authorities an almost irresistible tendency to systematize and correlate the things that are said in the Upaniṣads—things which, as I hold, are to a very large extent incapable of being systematized and correlated. This tendency appears not only in such Hindu philosophers as Čaṃkara, who assumes in advance that the Upaniṣads are school-texts of the Vedānta philosophy, and, Procrustes-like, makes them fit that pattern, frequently in defiance of the plain meaning of the passages. It is only somewhat less prominent in Deussen, who must needs construct for the Upaniṣads a system centering about the *Brāhman-Ātmān*, interpreted in terms of Schopenhauer. I have a great admiration for the work of Deussen, which in fact I consider almost the only existing careful and detailed treatment of Upaniṣadic thought which is worthy of serious consideration. But valuable as the work is, it suffers severely from this over-systematization, and especially from the introduction of Schopenhauerian ideas which are wholly foreign to the originals. Among these I am constrained to count Deussen's monstrous (no other word will suffice) definition of the *original* meaning of the word *brāhman*—'the Will of Man as it strives upward to the Holy, the Divine' ('der zum Heiligen, Göttlichen emporstrebende Wille des Menschen').¹ Deussen is not so blind as to maintain that this is the universal meaning of the word when used philosophically, nor is he so philologically

¹ Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, 1. 1, p. 241.

foolish as to try to explain away the passages where it does not mean that (à la Çamkara); but he holds that in such passages the Hindus have fallen from grace, have proved untrue to the originally lofty concept of the *brāhman*. And this is characteristic of his general interpretation of the Upaniṣads. In so far as they do not fit into his assumption of what their 'original' or 'primary' doctrine is, he thinks they have fallen from grace, departed from a previously occupied loftier position.

Now as to *brāhman*, while I should not wish to be first to define its original meaning, I am certain that it was not 'der zum Heiligen, Göttlichen emporstrebende Wille des Menschen,' nor anything remotely suggested by such words. If, in the course of the development of Indian thought, it finally comes to have a connotation not so very far removed from Deussen's definition, that can only be a late and secondary development; and it is certainly not (as it seems to me) characteristic of the older Upaniṣads.

And as with the meaning of the individual word *brāhman*, just so it is with the thought of the Upaniṣads as a whole. Deussen finds 'den eigentlichen Geist der Upaniṣadlehre' in the Vedāntic Idealism, which he sees fully developed in the oldest Upaniṣads—inclusively of the doctrine of the unreality of the empiric world (*māyā*), which, he insists, characterizes the oldest and purest form of Upaniṣad teachings.² Of course he recognizes—and sets forth very fully, and with all his customary sharpness of insight and depth of erudition—that it is only comparatively seldom that this 'Idealism' is clearly and consistently set forth. But all the passages which are inconsistent with it—and whose doctrines he pigeonholes under the convenient tags of 'Pantheism,' 'Cosmogonism,' 'Theism,' 'Atheism,' and 'Deism'—all these he regards as degenerations of the original and fundamental idea, or rather instances of falling-away from it, due to the feebleness and frailty of the human intellect, which was frequently unable to hold fast to that lofty summit of idealistic philosophy.

I may say in passing that I cannot agree with Deussen in finding this Vedāntic Idealism, fully developed, at all in the older Upaniṣads. I mean specifically in the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka* or the *Chāndogya*, which are usually (and without any question rightly) regarded as the oldest. I do not believe that the doctrine of *māyā*—of the unreality of the empiric universe—appears in

² Op. cit. 148 ff., 206 ff.

them at all, except in one or two verses now imbedded in the Brhad-Āraṇyaka, which all scholars, including Deussen himself, agree in considering later interpolations. When the Brhad-Āraṇyaka and the Chāndogya say that 'there is really only One that is, in very truth,' or words to that effect, they do not mean that the Many have no existence; that was a further step that was taken only later. What they do mean it would take too long to discuss in this paper. It is the less necessary to dwell on this question, whether the *māyā*-doctrin is found in the oldest Upaniṣads, for the reason that it has been fully and ably discussed, and to my mind conclusively decided in the negative, by Professor Oldenberg, in his latest book.²

Anyhow, this is a digression. What I am now discussing is not whether Deussen is right or wrong as to the exact age of some particular doctrin. It is rather the general point of view which he sets forth, that the Upaniṣads contain fundamentally a System—from which they frequently fall away, to be sure, but which is always more or less present in the background or as a starting-point. Reading Deussen on the Upaniṣads you never are allowed to forget the doctrin which to him is 'der eigentliche Geist der Upaniṣadlehre'—namely, that the one and only reality is the individual human soul.

Now to my mind there is no such definite doctrin of which it could be said that it is 'der eigentliche Geist der Upaniṣaden.' The genuine spirit of the Upaniṣads as a whole may be said to express itself in a general tendency—rather an unconscious and blind urging than a settled fact or a deliberate argument—to search for some one single unitary principle, on the basis of which, in some way or other, the multifariousness of the world as it presents itself to us may be explained—or at least which may, by its very existence, constitute a sort of bond of union between the individual parts of that multifariousness. But is not this 'der eigentliche Geist' of almost all philosophy? Genuinely dualistic or pluralistic systems of philosophy are hard to find; the classical Indian Sāṃkhya may perhaps be regarded as an almost isolated example. To say, then, that the Upaniṣads generally seem to be seeking for a unitary principle of reality, is scarcely more than to say that they are interested in philosophic problems. And any narrower or more exact definition of the 'genuine spirit of the

² *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, 1915 (p. 89 ff.).

Upaniṣads' would fail to describe properly the attitude of the Upaniṣads as a whole. In short, as soon as we ask how the Upaniṣads conceive this One Principle or Thing, and what its relations are to the empiric universe, we find the most varied answers. The Upaniṣads have no permanent point of view in regard to these questions, but on the contrary are constantly shifting the viewpoint—constantly reconsidering and attacking from new angles the same old problem. They are tentative and experimental, not fixed and final. They are philosophy in the making. They never seem to feel that they have found the ultimate truth. Or if they seem momentarily to feel so from time to time, one only needs to read on to the next paragraph to find that the position assumed with a semblance of satisfaction and finality is given up, and another position, wholly inconsistent with the former, is assumed with regard to the same problem. And this fluidity or fluctuation is the essential thing about them. It is not to be regarded as departure from a norm. There is no norm to depart from.

The names for the One found in the Upaniṣads—which is another way of saying the ways in which the authors try to formulate It and its relation to the world and to themselves—are numerous. We are told in all the books—latest of all in Oldenberg*—that the two names *brāhman* and *ātmán* are so predominantly the favorites that other expressions are negligible in comparison. I cannot find that this is so, at least in the older Upaniṣads. It is true that *brāhman* and *ātmán* are both common expressions for the One. Perhaps no other single expression is as common as either *brāhman* or *ātmán*. Nevertheless, the idea is expressed in a large variety of other ways, the collective number of whose occurrences would perhaps considerably exceed the combined number of occurrences of *brāhman* and *ātmán*. I have collected no statistics on this point, as yet; I am here stating my own impression merely. But take a single instance—the very famous Sixth Prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad—famous perhaps principally because it contains the always-quoted *tat tvam asi* (a phrase, by the way, which is often mistranslated, and whose importance I think is overrated).⁵ This is a passage of

*Op. cit., p. 44 ff.

⁵ The entire phrase is: *sa ya eṣa aṇimā, ātadātmīyam idaṃ sarvaṃ, tat satyam; sa ātmā, tat tvam asi gvetaketo*, 'what that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that (-aṇimā)-as-its-essence is this universe, that is the Real, that is the Soul (Self, human soul), that (aṇimā, subtle essence) art

some length, and is all about the One, its nature, and its relation to the world and to man. The word *brāhman* does not once occur in its entire length, and tho the word *ātman* occurs, it can hardly be said to occur as a name for the One. As used in this passage *ātman* means rather the human soul, simply—the self, in the old original sense of the word. The favorite—and I may fairly say exclusive—name for the One in this passage is *Sat*—the Existent (also described as *sa aṇimā*, ‘that subtle essence’).

Much is made of the equation *brāhman* = *ātman*, interpreted as meaning world-soul = individual soul, and usually said to constitute the corner-stone of Upaniṣad teachings. Without denying the importance of this equation, I think it should be remembered that an equation of this or any other kind is by no means such a serious and important matter to the Vedic Hindus as it is to us. In the Brāhmaṇas, as Deussen says, ‘alles mögliche wird mit allem möglichen gleichgesetzt.’ And this tendency to endless—and usually very shallow—identifications of everything possible with everything else possible is quite as prominent in what we call the philosophic passages as anywhere else—from the philosophic hymns of the Atharva Veda, clear thru to the Upaniṣads. In particular, names which are intended to be applied to the One are constantly identified with all other known names that had previously been suggested for the same concept. Thus, to mention one early example, in the Rohita hymn, AV. 13. 2, vs. 39, we are told—

rōhitāḥ kālō abhavad rōhitō 'gre prajāpatiḥ

‘Rohita was Time, Rohita was Prajāpati in the beginning’; and in adjacent verses of this hymn, as in the other Rohita hymns, Rohita—here the Supreme One—is identified with numerous other things and concepts, some philosophical, some not. In short, for a Hindu to say that one thing equals another doesn’t in itself mean much; and as far as the early Upaniṣads are concerned, I do not find that the equation of *brāhman* with *ātman* is so common or so pointed as to justify any other inference than that both these words are familiar expressions for the One—along with many others.

thou, Ç.’ The phrase is frequently represented as meaning ‘thou art (the) That,’ as if *Tat* were itself (as it sometimes is) a name for the One; but here *tat* is simply an ordinary demonstrative pronoun, referring back to *aṇimā*.

The fact is, I believe, that no one would have thought of giving this all-surpassing prominence to the *brāhman* and the *ātman*—as individual expressions—in the older Upaniṣads, at any rate, were it not for the fact that later Hindu philosophy—the Vedānta especially—makes so much of them. Now this fact undoubtedly makes the early history of these two words exceptionally interesting from the point of view of the development of Hindu philosophy as a whole. But if our object is to get an accurate idea of the thought of the Upaniṣads, we ought, it seems to me, to invoke the aid mainly of earlier—rather than later—stages of thought, in supplementing and interpreting the Upaniṣads themselves.

Which brings me to my second proposition—that there is scarcely anything in the older Upaniṣads which is not also found—sometimes in a more primitive form—in the philosophical texts of the older Vedic literature. To show how extensively this is true, I am preparing a sort of card-index of the philosophical ideas and expressions in the Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and older Upaniṣads. When finished this will, I believe, be a definitive collection of sources for the philosophical ideas of early India. It is already sufficiently advanced that I feel safe in predicting that it will completely establish the truth of my proposition of the close dependence of the Upaniṣads on the older Vedic philosophy. This proposition, if once firmly established, should, it seems to me, have at least one immediate and practical result of prime importance; it should put a definite end to the strange theory advanced by Garbe and accepted by Deussen, that the philosophical thought of the Upaniṣads is a product of the warrior caste and is genetically unrelated to the old ritualistic speculations of the Brahmins. I think my collection will show that there would be as much reason for ascribing *ksatriya* authorship to many hymns of the R̥g and Atharva Vedas, and to many passages in the Yajur Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.

More than this could of course be said against the theory of the *ksatriya* origin of the Upaniṣads. But perhaps it may seem like slaying the dead to dwell on it further at present, especially in view of the fact that it seems now to be rejected by practically everyone.*

Let me then illustrate very briefly how such a complete and comprehensive survey of early Vedic philosophy will illuminate the subject in other ways.

* Most lately by Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 166 ff.

The general plan of the work, in so far as it deals with attempts to get at the concept of the One, will be this. I shall first enumerate and quote attempts to formulate the One Being *in relation to the empiric world*—with subdivisions such as these: Temporal relations (First, Most Ancient; including in itself Past, Present, and Future; Time itself; concrete units of time, as Year, Day and Night, etc.); Spatial relations (Supreme, Highest; Foundation, Support, Bottommost; All-inclusiv, extending beyond all; Boundless, Infinit); Causal relations (Causa Efficiens or Creator; Causa Materialis or All-stuff; Uncaused, Unborn, Self-existent, etc.); relations as of Rulership (Ruler, Controller, Lord, etc.); Theological or Deistic relations (Sole God; Giver of Life, Strength, and other Boons); Intellectual relations (Knower of everything; All-wise; Seer, etc.); and finally, the relation of Identity, or Strict Monism (the One is All).—Secondly, the collection will take up the attempts to formulate the One as Absolute *Ding an Sich*—to get at its own nature *in terms of itself*, and not in relation to other things. Here we shall find the subdivisions along such lines as these: Fysical concepts as First Principles (Water, Fire [with Sun, Heat], Wind or Air, Ether—and finally combinations of more than one fysical element as component parts of the universe); Psychological or quasi-psychological concepts (Man, *Puruṣa*; Desire; Mind, etc.; *Prāṇa*; and others, leading up to *Ātmān*); Ritualistic concepts (Holy Speech, *Vāc*; *Brhaspati*; *tapas*; Sacrifice; sacrificial animals and other offerings; *Brahmacārin*, and others, leading up to *Brāhman*); Metafysical and Mystical Concepts (Existent and Non-existent; the One; That (*Tat*); *Idam* and *Sarvam*, This, All; *Yakṣa*, 'Wonder'; Secret, etc.).

Such, in a very brief and general way, is the plan of my Index of Ideas of Vedic Philosophy. I have already indicated what I hope will be the general result of it—a broadening and deepening of the current stock of knowledge of early Indian philosophy as a whole, and especially a clear and final demonstration of the intimate relation between the Upaniṣads and their predecessors. I will close with one concrete instance. In the outline plan here presented I refer to fysical concepts as tentative First Principles. We saw for instance that of the five later elements, earth, air, fire, water, and ether, all but the first, earth, are more or less clearly suggested as First Principles in the early Vedic texts. At least two of these elements, namely wind, or air, and

ether, as so used in the Upaniṣads. Thus, Bṛh U. 3. 7. 6: 'Wind, in sooth, O Gāutama, is that thred, for by wind as by a thred this world and the other world and all creatures ar knit together.' Ch U. 1. 8: after a conversation between three Brahmins, in which various Ultimates ar suggested and rejected, the Ether (*ākāśa*) is declared to be the true Ultimate; (9) 'for all these beings arise out of the ether and return unto the ether again; for the ether is older than they, and the ether is their final resort (goal).'

In view of such passages—which ar by no means isolated—how can Oldenberg[†] maintain that 'none of the powers which tend towards the All-being belongs to the relm of fysical nature'? Oldenberg in this case seems to hav simply accepted the traditional statement, that the great distinction between erly Greek and erly Hindu filosofy is that the Greeks started with fysical elements, and the Hindus never did. Even Deussen, who collects a number of passages from the Upaniṣads in which fysical expressions for the One occur, cannot believ that they ar ment literally, but holds that they ar 'symbolic' expressions,^{*} whatever that may mean. I hold—and I think I can prove—that they ar to be understood quite literally, and that they ar precisely analogous to the speculations of the erly Ionic filosofers. It is indeed a curious coincidence that the earliest fysical element to be used in this way is, in both Greece and India, water. In the filosofic hymns of the Rig Veda, already, water is more or less clearly conceivd as the primal principle. It continues to crop out in the same way occasionally thruout the Brāhmaṇa period. By the time of the Upaniṣads, to be sure, it seems to hav been practically eliminated from filosofic discussion. But in Greece, too, it is only Thales, the first of the Ionic school, who teaches that water is the original element; his successor Anaximander alrely sets up a much more abstract principle, 'the Infinit.' And as Anaximenes, the third of the Ionic school, found in Air a more subtle element, and so a more suitable one for use as the first principle, so the Hindus of later times, while not entirely giving up the idea of a fysical element, preferd Air or Wind (*Vāyu*, *Vāta*), or the stil more subtle Ether (*ākāśa*), to the grosser water.

[†] Op. cit. p. 45.

^{*} Op. cit. p. 91 ff.

Asokan notes.—By TRUMAN MICHELSON, Ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.¹

1: *nāsaṃtaṃ*.

Lüders, in his 'Epigraphische Beiträge' (*Sitzb. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1913, p. 988-1028), considers *nāsaṃtaṃ* on the Delhi-Sivalik, Deli-Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, and Mathia versions of Asoka's Pillar-Edicts to be a participle to *nathī*, and to be divided into *nā* and *saṃtaṃ*. This is impossible because *nā* 'not' never occurs in these dialects, while *no* (as Lüders remarks) is common; and furthermore we can be confident a participle to *nathī* (Skt. *nāsti*) would have a formation similar to Sanskrit *asant-*, Pāli *asanto*, Amg. Prākṛit *asan-tīe*, Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛit *asaī*. For these last two see Pischel, *Gramm.* § 560.

2: *asvatha-saṃtaṃ*.

I treated the difficult phrase *abhītā| asvatha-saṃtaṃ*, DS. 4. 12, 13 (*abhītā| asvatha-saṃ . . .*, DM. 12, 13; *abhīta-asvathā-saṃtaṃ*, R. 4. 19, M. 4, 23; *abhīta-asvathā . . .*, Rā. 4. 17) in IF. 23. 232-234. There can be no doubt that DS. and DM. *abhītā* is a nom. pl. as is *abhīta* of R.M.Rā. in accordance with the law of shortening in the dialects of these versions of the Pillar-Edicts: see IF. 23. 228f. DS. and DM. *asvatha-saṃtaṃ* I considered a copulative compound 'confidently and quietly'², and held that the *asvathā* of R.M.Rā. was a simple lengthening of *asvatha*.³ Lüders, l. c., 1010, 1011, rejected this and went back to the old view that *asvatha* and *saṃtaṃ*, and similarly *asvathā-saṃtaṃ*, were nominative plurals, because he did not think my translation suitable and because he could find no exact parallel for the lengthening of the *ā* of *asvathā* in Wackernagel, *AiGr.* 2. 1 § 56. At the same time he acknowledged he could not explain away the phonetic difficulties which, as I pointed out, such a translation involves. Leaving *saṃtaṃ* aside we would have DS.DM. **asvathā* and R.M.Rā. **asvatha* if the texts were to be translated the old way; and it will be observed

¹ Printed by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

² See Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 1247j, 1311.

³ See Whitney, l. c., § 247.

that this is just the opposite to the actual texts. If any one is rash enough to make five emendations to make the texts agree with his preconceived notion of what they ought to mean, he may do so, but he can not expect others to follow him. Let us now turn to *saṃtaṃ*. Lüders, probably seeing that Kern's and Senart's attempts to justify this as a nom. pl. were untenable as I have shown, op. cit., brings forward Kālsī *saṃtaṃ* at 8. 22 as support to the old interpretation of *saṃtaṃ* of the Pillar-Edicts. Certainly Kālsī *saṃtaṃ* is a participle (Girnār *saṃto*, Shb. *sato*, Mans. *saṃtaṃ*, Dh. no correspondent, J. a lacuna), but it is a nom. singular masculine, not plural, as is shown by the preceding *lājā* (Girnār *rājā*, Shb. Mans. *raja*, Dh. *lājā*). Hence it is no support at all.⁴

I grant that there is no exact parallel for the lengthening of the *ā* of *asvathā* cited by Wackernagel, l. c.; but we do find near-parallels, and these occur in Pāli and Prākṛit also. And on the inscriptions of Asoka we find partial parallels such as DS. *anūpaṭipamne*, *abhihāle*, even if they apparently do not chance to occur on R.M.Rā.: it will be remembered that even DS. has only one instance in edicts 1-6, and there are no correspondents to DS. 7 to enable us to determine whether this is a feature of DS. only or whether it occurs also in other dialects of the Pillar-Edicts. In spite of Lüders I can not see that the translation I have given to *asvatha-saṃtaṃ* is unsuitable.⁵ Phonetically it at least satisfies the requirements of DS. and DM.; nor do I think I am over-bold in my interpretation of the final *-ā* of *asvathā*. But if Professor Lüders or any one else will make a suggestion that has no phonetic uncertainties, and can justify *saṃtaṃ* as a nom. pl. of a participle, without involving violent textual emendations—I will be ready to accept it. Till then I shall adhere to my interpretation. Incidentally I add that Lüders' explanation of DS. *asvatha* at 4. 4 and *viyatadhātī* at DS. 4. 11 may be right, but my explanations are fully as probable. For the principle of Lüders' solution see Michelson, IF. 23. 238, 239.

⁴It can hardly be denied that Māgadhan *kalāṃtaṃ* is pl. as well as sing. But only on the 'Detached Edicts' is it pl., and there it does not occur as sing. On the Rock-Edicts it is singular only. Hence it is not a good parallel. Shb. and Mans. *-ntaṃ* are Māgadhisms (so Lüders).

⁵My interpretation of *saṃtaṃ* is the same as that of Burnouf: see *Lotus*, 746.

3: Gīrnār *athā*.

Lüders, l. c., 1018 considers Gīrnār *athā* at 12. 8 a simple mistake for *athāya* which is found quite often. He says 'das *ya* ist vor dem folgenden *ya* von *yvāpatā* ausgelassen.' This is simple nonsense. Lüders should have generously acknowledged that Senart, Konow, and Pischel⁶ anticipated him in this. If it is an error, it is surely due to the preceding *etāya*. Formerly I accepted *athā* as genuine, but explained it as being due to haplology: see JAOS. 31. 240. As it can equally well be explained as a case of haplography, and since dative of *a*-stems in *ā* do not occur in this dialect, even if they do in other dialects,⁷ I think this last explanation is to be preferred. Lüders is quite right in continuing 'für unsern Dialekt [DS.] kann es natürlich auf keinen Fall etwas beweisen' for the dative sing. of Gīrnār and Pāli *a*-stems is in *-āya*, that of the dialects of the Pillar-Edicts in *-āye*: see JAOS. 31. 241.

4: On the gender of *pālanā*, *sukkhīyanā*, and *dasanā*.

Lüders, l. c., 999 takes *pālanā* as a nom. sing. feminine while I took it as a nom. pl. neuter: see IF. 23. 249. Lüders completely ignores the evidence of the Delhi-Mirat correspondent, namely, [*pāla*]*naṃ* which can be nothing else than a nom. sing. neuter. In the face of Sanskrit *pālanam*, Pāli *pālanam*, both of which are neuter, we cannot resort to such desperate shifting of gender. However, it is not necessary to consider the *-ā* a Vedic survival: *-nā* may be for *-nāni* to avoid two successive syllables with *n*. Similar instances of haplology will at once be recalled. The loss of final *ni* of course would have to be early to account for the *-na* (not *-nā*) of the Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpūrvā correspondent: see IF. 23. 228f.

Lüders, *ibidem*, takes as a nom. sing. fem. also *sukkhīyanā*, which I took as a nom. pl. neuter. Lüders apparently is unaware that the compound *sukkhīyana dukkhīyanam* (so) at DS. 4. 6 and its correspondents *sukkhīyanadukkhīyanam* at R. 4. 16, M. 4. 19 with *-na*, not *-nā*, compel us to consider *sukkhīyana* as neuter in gender. The Rā. correspondent at 4. 14 is damaged

⁶ On revision I note that Kern, *Jaartelling*, 66, also made the same correction. The other early writings on things Asokan are not accessible to me as I write these lines.

⁷ Gīrnār *nicā*, which Bühler takes as standing for *nicāya*, is too weak a support to sustain such a belief: see JAOS. 31. 239.

at the end but points in the same direction: *sukhīyanadu*-. We can not assume a desperate shift of gender in the case of *sukhīyanā*; the explanation is as above; in any case Lüders himself allows a few cases of nom. plurals of neuters in *-ā*.

Similarly Lüders holds *-dasaṇā* of the Gīrnār redaction of the Rock-Edicts in the compounds *vimānadasaṇā* and *hastidasaṇā*, both at 4. 3, also to be a nom. sing. feminine, as likewise Kālsī *vimānadasaṇā* at 4. 9. That both are neuter pl. is shown by Dhāuli *vimānadasaṇam* (4. 13), Shāhbāzgarhi *vimānaṇam draṣaṇam* (4. 8). The Mansehra correspondent is indecisive. Sanskrit *darśanam* and Pāli *dassanaṃ*, both of which are neuter, also guarantee that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā*, Kālsī *-dasaṇā* are neuter.*

Gīrnār *paṭivedanā* at 6. 2 as a nom. sing. feminine is adduced by Lüders to show that *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are also nom. sing. feminine. First it should be noted that the correspondents in the other versions, to wit, K. [*paṭ*]ivedanā, Dh. (*p*)aṭivedanā, J. *paṭivedanā* (so), Shb. and Mans. *paṭivedana*, support the Gīrnār form. Secondly Sanskrit *vedanā* is a decisive proof that *paṭivedanā* (and its variants) is a nom. sing. feminine. Now the correspondents in other versions (see above) and internal evidence show that *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are neuter; and Sanskrit *pālanam*, Pāli *pālanam*, Sanskrit *darśanam*, Pāli *dassanaṃ* (which are all neuter) verify this conclusion for *pālanā* and *-dasaṇā*; while Pāli neuters in *ana*

* Kern, *Jaartelling*, 51f, saw the difficulty; Senart, *IA*. 21. 102, pronounced Kālsī *-dasaṇā* a neuter pl., which of course implies that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* is likewise one. See also Johansson, *Shb.* 2. 69, 70. Lüders' list of neuter plurals in *-ā* is incomplete. Hence it is possible that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* may be a Vedic survival. Observe also *vimāna-darśana* in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā*, 46. 90 as cited by Hultsch in his observations on Āśoka's Fourth Rock-Edict in *JRAS*. Hultsch himself does not touch on the gender of Gīrnār *-dasaṇā*. Additional proof that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* is neuter is to be found in Gīrnār *dasanaṃ* at 8. 5 (Shb. *draṣanaṃ* with Māgadhan dental *n* for *ṇ* (see *IF*. 24. 53) exactly as Gīrnār *dasane* at 8. 8 (twice), Shb. *draṣane* (8. 17 [twice]), and Mans. *draṣane* (8. 35 [twice], 8. 36) have Māgadhan final *-e* as shown by Kālsī, Jaugada, Dhāuli *dasane* (see K. 8. 23, J. 8. 11, Dh. 8. 4, 8. 5). Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 106, 152, also holds there are a few cases of neuter plurals of *a*-stems in *-ā*. Konow's essay on the Gīrnār dialect (in *Akad. Afhand. til S. Bugge*) is not accessible to me. Senart, *Les inscriptions*, 1, p. 100 held that *-dasaṇā* had final *-ā* for *-am* or that it was neuter pl. The first hypothesis naturally is excluded: see *JAOS*. 31. 239, 240.

from secondary roots confirm us in holding *sukhīyanā* to be also neuter: see IF. 23. 249. Hence *paṭivedanā* is not pertinent evidence regarding the gender of the words under discussion.

Jauṇḍa -*saṃtilanā* at 6. 5 is also brought forward by Lüders to show *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are feminines. But it is not germane at all, for the concordance of all versions, and the internal evidence of each separate redaction, both show that it is feminine; whereas all the evidence of this nature points diametrically against this in the case of the three words *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā*, as I have shown above.

Delhi-Sivalik *sukhāyanāyā* at 7². 3, an undoubted feminine, is also used by Lüders to back his case. But *sukhāyanāyā* has not the same formation as *sukhīyanā*, and is supported as a feminine by the preceding *vividhāyā*, whereas internal evidence shows *sunhīyanā* is neuter (note the compound *sukhīyana dukhīyanam*, *sukhīyanadukhīyanam*). Moreover we have no correspondents to control DS. 7. For these reasons we shall not be guided by *sukhāyanāyā*.

If I have spent much space on the discussion of the gender of the words in question, it is because Lüders has simply ignored the evidence on the first two presented in IF. 23. 249.

5 : Delhi-Sivalik *lāja*, *siya*.

Lüders, l. c., 1010, overlooks the fact that I anticipated his explanation of Delhi-Sivalik *lāja*, *siya* by some years: see IF. 23. 226, 238, 239.

6 : Girnār *karu*.

I am glad to see that Lüders, l. c., 1016, rejects Franke's explanation of Girnār *karu*, as I had done some years ago: see JAOS. 31. 244.

7 : Gerunds in *tu*, *tī*.

Lüders, l. c., 1024, completely passes over the fact that some years ago I showed that gerunds in *tu* in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Rock-Edicts are 'Māgadhisms,' and that the one in *tī* is proper to their dialect: see JAOS. 30. 80, 86, 91; AJP. 31. 60. His explanation of *apahaṭā*, which, as he states, was formerly held by Kern, as a nomen agentis, and not a gerund, is certainly correct. Lüders shows the views of both Senart and Bühler are untenable.

8 : The locative singular of *a*-stems.

Lüders, l. c., 989, 990 treats the locative singular of *a*-stems in

various Asokan dialects in the elucidation of a single passage. He rightly holds that the true native forms in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions are *-e* and *-aspi*, and that *-asi* in them is a 'Māgadhism.' This last is hardly news, as Senart and Franke both recognized it, even if Johansson apparently was unaware of this. But I think I was the first to point out that *-aspi* was actually a true native form of the dialect of Shb. and Mans.: see AJP. 30. 285, 286, JAOS. 30. 83. Lüders is quite right in denying an *-e* locative to the Māgadhan dialects. But I think it a little venturesome to emend *Nābhake* of the Kālsī version, because in some respects the true native dialect of this redaction agrees with the dialects of the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mansehra texts as opposed to the Māgadhan dialects: see JAOS. 30. 90; 31. 247.

9: On the etymology of Shb. *niraṭhriyam*, Mans. *nirathriya*.

Lüders, l. c., 991, quite overlooks the fact that his etymology of these words was anticipated by Johansson years ago: see Johansson, *Der dialekt d. Shb.*, 151 (37 of the reprint); and compare Michelson, AJP. 30. 294, 295.

10: Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra phonetics.

Grierson, JRAS. 1913, p. 682, 683, from the fact that in the modern Piśāca languages of India such forms as *grām* (Sanskrit *grāma*) and *krom* (Sanskrit *karman*) occur, thinks that such forms as *dhrama-* on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions may represent the actual pronunciation with as much probability as that they are merely graphical representations of *dharmā-*, etc. I am sure all will appreciate Grierson's attempt to correlate modern vernaculars with the Asokan ones. But I am not convinced by his argument. First, two thousand years have to be bridged over; secondly, the modern Piśāca languages of India are not linear descendants of the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, even if in certain phonetic points there are resemblances between all; thirdly—and this is the fundamental objection—the evidence of the inscriptions themselves distinctly is opposed to such a view. That the manner in which *r* appears in conjoint consonants on these inscriptions is a mere matter of graphical convenience is shown by *paṭri*, *praṭi* (Skt. *prati*); *viyapraṭa*, *viyapaṭra* (Skt. *vyāpṛtās*); *srava-*, *savra-* (Skt. *sarva-*); *vagreṇa* (Skt. *vargeṇa*); *grabhagaraspi* (Skt. *garbhāgāra-*); *mrugo* (Skt.

mrgas); *vudhrana* (Skt. *vrddhānām*); *-vrudhi* (Skt. *vrddhi*); etc. I have exhaustively treated this point in AJP. 30. 289, 290, 423, 424, 426; 31. 56, 57, 62. Moreover if *thr* is not graphical for *rth*, then *tn* can not be for *nt*. So with the best will in the world, I fear we are not justified in following Grierson.

There is another point of view also to be considered. In point of time the inscriptions are nearer Sanskrit or Vedic than modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars; so we should expect the first two to shed more light on the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts than the latter; and as a matter of fact both Johansson and myself have made it clear that this dialect, though it has certain Middle Indic features, yet as a whole is far closer to Sanskrit than to other Middle Indic dialects. Hence I shall continue to consider *dharma-* of the Asokan inscriptions as merely graphical for *dharma-*; etc.

11: Gīrnār *likhāpayisaṃ*.

Wackernagel, *Z. verg. Sp.* 43. 290-291, discusses the origin of the Middle Indic future termination *-ssaṃ* in the first person singular. Gīrnār *likhāpayisaṃ* is cited in this connection. Wackernagel's explanation is that the form in *-ssaṃ* (the Gīrnār word has *s* graphically for *ss*) must be ancient, and he accordingly derives it from *-syā* because apparently in some Middle Indic dialects final *ā* and *aṃ* interchange. This *-syā* would then be an archaism, cf. Avestan *vaxšyā*. I think every one will want very substantial proof to admit such an extraordinary archaism; and as a matter of fact Wackernagel's explanation is untenable as *-ā* and *-aṃ* do not interchange in the Gīrnār dialect whether they do or not in other Middle Indic dialects: JAOS. 31. 239, 240. Incidentally I remark that both Johansson and myself have tried to show that in many cases where *-ā* and *-aṃ* apparently interchange it is due to analogy, and is not phonetic. If we are both wrong in this, it will not affect the evidence of the Gīrnār dialect.

12: Māgadhan *kachati*.

The meaning of Māgadhan *kachati* is absolutely certain; as shown by Gīrnār *kāsati*, Shb. Mans. *kaṣati* (both from **karṣyati*) we have a word that in meaning corresponds to Sanskrit *karṣyati*. As Johansson, Shb. 2. 24, saw, any attempt to

derive *kachati* from **karṣyati* must fail. Accordingly he suggested that it was a future from a present stem *kajj* (from **karyati*, cf. Prākṛit *kajjai*), thus **kajjsyati* > *kacchati* (written *kachati*). This fails because *ry* does not become *jj* in a single Asokan dialect. Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, 99, went back to the older view, but seeing the difficulty queried if we might not have an 'überleitendes *t*,' that is *rtsy* from *rṣy*. For *rtsy* would inevitably result in *cch* (written *ch*). See also Franke, l. c., p. 100, 119, 132. This unfortunately will not answer, for *rṣ* and *rṣy* are treated alike in all Middle Indic dialects: as we have *ss* (written *s*) in the Māgadhan dialects from *rṣ* (e. g. *vasa-*, Skt. *varṣa-*), we should expect **kassati* from **karṣyati*. And Delhi-Sivalik *isyā*, etc. (Skt. *īrṣyā*) is opposed to such a theory. Accordingly I venture to give a new solution to our problem, and hope it will prove more satisfactory. I wish to acknowledge that Franke's suggestion gave me the clue. In Sanskrit the roots *kr* and *kṛt* coincide in certain forms. Thus the gerund *-kr̥tya* can be either *-kr̥-tya* or *kṛt-ya*; similarly the root word *kṛt* can go back to either *kr* or *kṛt*. The infinitives *kartum* and **karttum* would phonetically fall together in Middle languages as would probably the gerunds *kṛtvā* and **kṛttvā*. And in Sanskrit there is one root *kr̥* 'do, make,' another one 'cut.' In a word I believe that *kacchati* (written *kachati*) is simply the phonetic correspondent to Skt. *kartsyati* 'he will cut,' and is due to the confusion of the roots *kr* and *kṛt* outlined above. References to the phonetic and morphological phenomena in my discussion are left out, because the facts are well known.

13: Shb. *śruṇeyu*, etc.

Some time ago I pointed out in KZ. 43. 351 that Pāli *suṇōti* was derived from **śruṇōti* not **śṛṇōti* (Sanskrit *śṛṇōti*) as shown by Shāhbāzgarhi *śruṇeyu*, Mansehra *śruṇey[u]*, Gīrnār *srūnāru*, and not from either one as Keller held. Amg. Prākṛit *padissune* (cited by Pischel, *Gramm.*, § 503) with *ss* distinctly points also to a present **śruṇōti*, not **śṛṇōti*. Accordingly we must consider such Prākṛit and Pāli forms as have *s* (*Mg.ś*) in compounds as instances of re-composition from the simple uncompounded ones which phonetically would have but one initial sibilant. This is quite aside from the question as to which formation is most original.

Adhi√brū and adhi√vac in the Veda.—By DR. HENRY S. GEHMAN, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In the Petersburg Lexicon Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhi√brū* as 'segnen, trösten, Muth einsprechen, fürsprechen für.' Geldner in his *Rigveda in Auswahl* defines the same word as 'zugunsten von jemandem (dat.) sprechen, in Schutz nehmen, Partei nehmen für, Recht geben.' He cites the following passages: RV. 1. 35. 11; 6. 75. 12; AV. 4. 28. 7. Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhi√vac* as 'sprechen—, hilfreich eintreten'; Geldner, *op. cit.*, 'fürsprechen, Fürbitte einlegen, Partei ergreifen für, verteidigen.' In support of these meanings he cites RV. 8. 48. 14; 7. 83. 2.

We also find the nouns *adhivaktar* and *adhivāka*. Böhtlingk and Roth define the former as 'Fürsprecher, Tröster,' while Geldner gives the meanings 'Fürsprecher, Verteidiger,' citing RV. 8. 96. 20. *Adhivāka* is defined in the Petersburg Lexicon as 'Fürsprache, Schutz.'

I suggest the following line of development and meaning. *Adhi√vac*, *-√brū* originally perhaps meant 'to speak upon' or 'over,' 'to pronounce words (of blessing) over (*ādhi*),' with simple ellipsis of the cognate or inner accusative. They then come to mean, quite simply, 'bless,' 'grant a benediction.' This is the only meaning they ever have in the Veda. It is a simple ameliorative specialization of the etymological meaning.

We have seen that the two interpretations usually given for these words (either in addition to the meaning 'bless' or without it) are: (1) 'to encourage, to speak (cheerfully) unto'; and so (2) 'to speak in favor of, to defend (in speech as an advocate),' and then by extension 'to defend, protect' in general.

Against (1) we may say first, that it is very doubtful if *ādhi* can ever mean 'unto.' Secondly, there is no definite support for the thesis that the word means 'encourage'—the postulated secondary or developed meaning. Though the vagueness and lack of definition which naturally characterize the passages leave it possible to apply this meaning frequently, there is no passage where 'bless' does not fit just as well. Against (2);

first, it seems that the preposition *ádhi* does not, at least in verbal composition, have the meaning 'in favor of.' Secondly, the interpretation postulates a very concrete and definite usage as an intermediate term in the development of the meaning, viz., 'to speak for, to be an advocate for, to intercede for.' There is a total lack of evidence to show that the verb ever had this meaning. In other words, Geldner and others assume a secondarily developed meaning for which the primary step is wanting.—The assumed meaning 'protect' is based on the frequent association of the verbs with words of protection; but 'bless' fits equally well all such passages.—*Brū* means the same as *vac*, and it is strange that Böhrtlingk and Roth do not recognize the meaning 'segnen' for *adhi-√vac*, since they do recognize it for *adhi-√brū*.

In AV. 6. 13. 2 is what I consider the crucial passage. Here we have a contrast between *adhi-vāká* 'speaking over, benediction' and *parā-vāká*, 'speaking away from, averting one's speech (blessing) from.' *Adhivāká* in this passage is defined in the Petersburg Lexicon as 'Fürsprache, Schutz,' but the contrast clearly shows that it means 'blessing' or 'benediction':

*nāmas te adhivākāya parāvākāya te nāmah
sumatyāi mṛtyo te nāmo durmatyāi ta idām nāmah*

'Hail to thy benediction, hail to thy malediction. To thy goodwill, O Death, be homage; to thy malevolence here is homage.'

Parāvāká is very clearly the opposite of *adhivāká*. If Geldner and Böhrtlingk and Roth were right about *adhivāká*, that it means 'defending speech,' *parāvāká* ought to mean 'attacking speech,' which *parā* does not fit.

The warlike Vedic Aryans wanted blessing most especially in battle. We shall first quote our examples from hymns referring to battle scenes:

RV. 6. 75. 12:

*ṛjīte pári vr̥ndhi nó 'ḥmā bhavatu nas tanūḥ
sómo ádhi bravītu nó 'ditiḥ gárma yachatu*

'O thou glowing one, avoid us. May our bodies be stone. May Soma bless us; may Aditi grant us protection.'

Where could Soma speak in behalf of the warriors? The soldiers want victory, and if they have the blessing of Soma, success will be assured.

AV. 4. 28. 7:

*ādhi no brūtaṃ pṛtanāsūgrāu sām vājreṇa sṛjataṃ yāḥ kimīdī
stāumi bhavāṇarvāu nāthitō johavīmi tāu no muñcatam ānhasaḥ*
'Ye two strong gods, bless us in battles; bring into contact
with your thunderbolt him who is the Kimīdin. I praise Bhava
and Ṛarva. I call upon you when I am in need of help. Deliver
us from calamity.'

Here the warrior calls for a blessing when he prays unto
Bhava and Ṛarva. On account of the natural hostility of these
deities, the suppliant needs their good will. If the soldiers have
the blessing of these gods, courage, help, and protection will
follow.

RV. 7. 83. 2:

*yātrā nāraḥ samāyante kṛtādhvajo yāsminn ājā bhāvati kīm
canā priyām*
*yātrā bhāyante bhāvanā swardṛḡas tātrā na indrāvaruṇādhi
vocatam*

'Where the heroes, provided with standards, go together, in the
battle where nothing pleasant happens, where the light-behold-
ing creatures are afraid, there, O Indra and Varuṇa, you
blessed-us.'

The idea of the advocate does not fit this passage. The magic
force of the gods' blessing gave their worshipers courage, pro-
tection, and success. 'Muth zusprechen' (Grassmann's trans-
lation) is not sufficient; that is only one of the results of the
blessing. *Adhi√vac* here means the same as *adhi√brū*. In
RV. 6. 75. 12 *adhi√brū* had been used for blessing in battle.

AV. 4. 27. 1:

*marūtām manve ādhi me bruvantu prēmām vājam vājasāte
avantu*
āḡūn iwa suyāmān ahva ūtāye té no muñcantv ānhasaḥ

'I think with devotion upon the Maruts; may they bless me.
May they help this strength in battle. Like tractable horses
I have called upon them for aid. May they free us from
trouble.'

We have seen before that *adhi√vac* means 'to bless' in spite
of the fact that Böhlingk and Roth do not give that meaning.

Let us consider the rest of the occurrences of these verbs in the warriors' hymns in the Rig-Veda.

RV. 1. 100. 19 a & b:

viçvâhéndro adhivaktâ no astv âparihvrtâh sanuyâma vâjam
'Every day may Indra be the one who blesses us. Unharméd may we win booty.'

Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivaktar* as 'Fürsprecher, Beschützer, Tröster.' 'Beschützer' is too narrow a meaning, since it does not contain the idea of \sqrt{vac} . The warrior does not want legal defense, vindication, or comfort. He needs help, and if the god blesses him, he is protected and achieves success.

RV. 1. 132. 1:

tvâyâ vayâm maghavan pûrveye dhâna indratvotâh sâsahyâma
prtanyatô vanuyâma vanuṣyatâh
nêdiṣṭhe asmînn âhany âdhi vocâ nû sunvaté
asmîn yajñé ví cayemâ bhâre krtâm vâjayânto bhâre krtâm

'By you, O Maghavan, in the former battle, by you, O Indra, supported, may we conquer the enemies; may we overcome those who attack us. On this present day bless the Soma-presser.'

RV. 8. 16. 5:

tâm id dhâneṣu hitēṣv adhivākāya havante
yēṣâm indras té jayanti

'Him alone where it concerns booty do they invoke for a blessing. On whose side Indra is, they conquer.'

Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivāka* here again as 'Fürsprache, Schutz.' Let us imagine a band of warriors, who have some booty in view, as we see in this hymn to Indra. Why should they pray for a legal defense, counsel, or vindication? They are the aggressors. They want the aid of the god to push them on. If they have his blessing, his favor will give them confidence, and his power will give them success.

In connection with the battle stanzas, we may quote RV. 2. 23. 8. Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivaktar* as 'Fürsprecher, Beschützer, Tröster.' 'The one who blesses,' seems better.

trātāram tvā tanūnām havāmahé 'vaspartar adhivaktāram
asmayām

*br̥haspate devanīdo nī barhaya mā durévā úttaram sumnám
ún naçan*

'Thee, the protector of bodies, O Savior, we invoke, the one who blesses and loves us. O Brhaspati, overthrow thou those that hate the gods. May the evil doers not attain the highest bliss.'

In RV. 8. 96. 20 we have a stanza to Indra, the war god. Although war is not definitely referred to, very likely war is uppermost in the mind. Here is the noun *adhivaktar*, which Geldner defines as 'Fürsprecher, Verteidiger.' 'Hüter' or 'Beschützer' would be nearer the mark, although they are not sufficiently comprehensive to express the meaning of *adhi√vac*. Indra is our protector, inasmuch as he blesses us. The passage reads as follows:

*sá vṛtrahéndraç carṣanīdhṛt tám suṣṭutyā hávyam huvema
sá prāvitā maghāvā no 'dhivaktā sá vājasya çravasyāsyā dātā*

'This Indra is the killer of Vṛtra, the supporter of people; with beautiful praise we call upon him, who is worthy to be invoked. Maghavan is our helper, he is the one who blesses us; he is the giver of praiseworthy strength.'

In these passages a suppliant prays to a god. The man wants protection and success. In case of loss or sorrow, he might look for comfort, but he does not expect any mishap and consequently does not ask the god for comfort. Nor are the divinities asked to speak in his behalf as advocates. The context forbids that. Should the gods simply inspire him with courage ('Muth einsprechen')? That would not insure success. Courage unwisely or recklessly employed might lead to destruction. What the suppliant wants, is a blessing, and the favor of the god. If the man has that, he feels that protection, success, and comfort will follow. All these meanings are simply dependent on 'bless.' We need a word that contains the idea of speaking, but the idea of the advocate is inconsistent with the meaning of the passages. 'Bless' is the only word that fits the passages and at the same time suggests the idea of *√brū* and *√vac*. For the moment, in the mind of the poet, the powers invoked are the supreme gods, and they have the power to bless the man who needs their help.

An examination of the other occurrences of *adhi√brū* and
15 JAOS 36.

adhi√*vac* will show that in the Rig- and Atharva-Veda the meaning 'bless' makes at least as good sense as any other in every case.

In close connection with the martial stanzas, let us consider the charms for kingly power.

Blessings were invoked at the Rājastuti. In this connection *adhi*√*brū* is used, RV. 10. 173. 3 = AV. 6. 87. 3 (Cf. also AV. 6. 5. 3 = VS. 17. 52, below):

imám índro adīdharad dhruvám dhruvéna haviṣā
tásmāi sómo ádhi bravat tásmā u bráhmanas pátiḥ

'This one has Indra established, firm by means of the firm *havis*. Him may Soma bless, him also Brahmanaspati.'

Cf. AV. 6. 87. 3:

índra etám adīdharaddhruvám dhruvéna haviṣā
tásmāi sómo ádhi bravat ayám ca bráhmanas pátiḥ

'Indra has established this man by a fixed oblation. May Soma bless him and this Brahmanaspati.'

AV. 4. 8. 2:

abhi prēhi māpa vena ugrācettā sapatnahā
ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana túbhyaṁ devā ádhi bruvaṇ

'Come hither, do not turn away, as a mighty guardian, slayer of rivals! Step hither, thou who prosperest thy friends; the gods shall bless thee.'

We find, however, that the words under consideration are also used in non-warlike situations. We shall first quote the prayers for general well-being, which are addressed to the beneficent gods. We find one addressed to Savitar who is to protect and bless us with his happy paths.

RV. 1. 35. 11:

yē te pánthāḥ savitaḥ pūrvyāso 'renávaḥ súkrtā antárikṣe
tébhir no adyá pathābhiḥ sugébhi ráksā ca no ádhi ca brūhi
deva

'What, O Savitar, in the atmosphere are thy ancient paths, free from dust, well-made, by (with) these which afford an easy passage, protect us to-day and bless us, O God.' (Cf. below, p. 225.)

In this hymn the suppliant asks the god for protection and then closes our stanza with *adhi-brūhi*. Where shall the god speak in his behalf? We cannot conceive that the god shall be his advocate or make a plea for him before any other god. What the poet wants, is protection. If he has the blessing and favor of the god, protection will naturally follow.

In RV. 8. 48. 14, the poet prays for good sense:
*trātāro devā ādhi vocatā no mā no nidrā īcata mótā jālpīh
 vayām sōmasya viçvāha priyāsah suvīrāso vidātham ā vadema*
 'Protecting gods, bless us. May neither sleep nor babbling speech seize hold of us. Always as friends of Soma, possessing heroic sons, may we address the *vidatha* (assembly?)'

The context does not favor the meaning of defending through an advocate. The speaker wants help, but that does not imply all that is contained in *adhi√vac*. 'Bless' retains the idea of *√vac* and at the same time implies divine aid. 'Muth einsprechen' (Grassmann's translation) is not sufficient. Again *adhi√vac* means the same as *adhi√brū*.

RV. 2. 27. 6:

*sugó hí vo aryaman mitra pánthā anṛkṣaró varuṇa sādhrú ásti
 tēnādityā ādhi vocatā no yáchatā no duṣparihāntu çarma*
 'For your road, O Aryaman and Mitra, is easy to go; it is without thorns, O Varuṇa, and excellent. With this, O Ādityas, bless us, offer us imperishable protection.'

AV. 6. 5. 3 (cf. VS. 17. 52 and RV. 10. 173. 3 = AV. 6. 87. 3, above):

*yāsya kṛṇmó havír grhé tám agne vardhayā tvám
 tásmāi sōmo ādhi bravād ayám ca bráhmaṇaspátīh*
 'In whose house we make oblation, him, O Agni, do thou increase. Him may Soma bless and this Brahmanaspati.'

VS. 17. 52:

*yāsya kṛmó grhé havis tám agne vardhayā tvám
 tásmāi devā ādhibravann ayám ca bráhmaṇaspátīh*
 'In whose house we make oblation, him, O Agni, do thou increase. Him may the gods bless and this Brahmanaspati.'

With the marking of cattle's ears, blessings were invoked, AV. 6. 141. 1:

*vāyūr enāḥ samākarat tvāṣṭā pōṣāya dhriyatām
īndra ābhyo ādhi bravad rudrō bhūmné cikitsatu*

'May Vāyu collect them (the cattle). Let Tvaṣṭr be kept for their prosperity. May Indra bless them. May Rudra care for their abundance.'

The earth was invoked for a blessing, AV. 12. 1. 59:

*ṣantivā surabhīḥ syonā kūlālodhnī pāyasvatī
bhūmir ādhi bravitu me pṛthivī pāyasā sahā*

'Kind, fragrant, mild, with the sweet drink (*kūlāla*) in her udder, rich in milk, let earth bless me, the broad earth together with milk.'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 63. 1:

*parāvāto yé dīdhiṣanta āpyam mānupritāso jānimā vivāsvataḥ
yayāter yé nahuṣyāsyā barhīṣi devā āsate té ādhi bruvantu naḥ*

'The gods, whose friendship is striven for from a distance, well beloved by men, the generations of Vivasvant, who sit upon the *barhis* of Yayāti Nahuṣya, they shall bless us.'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 8. 30. 3:

*tē naḥ trādhvam tē 'vata tā u no ādhi vocata
mā naḥ pathāḥ pītryān mānavād ādhi dūrām nāiṣṭa parāvataḥ*

'Being such, preserve us, help us, bless us too; do not lead us from the path of the fathers and of mankind (Manu?).'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 128. 4:

*māhyam yajantu māma yāni havyākūtiḥ satyā mānaso me astu
éno mā nī gām katamāc canāhām viṣve devāso ādhi vocatā naḥ*

'To me may they offer all the oblations that I have. May the intention of my mind remain pure. May I not fall into any sin whatever. All ye gods bless us.'

To Indra, RV. 1. 84. 17:

*kā īsate tujyāte kó bibhāya kó mānsate śāntam īndram kó ānti
kās tokāya kā bhāyotā rāyē 'dhi bravat tanvè kó jānāya*

The following translation follows Ludwig's interpretation:

'Who flees, is injured, who fears? (The evil one.) Who believes in Indra? Who believes that he is nigh? (The pious

one.) Who blesses offspring and the servants (the family?), wealth, himself, and the people? (Indra.)'

To the Fathers, RV. 10. 15. 5:

ūpahūtāḥ pitāraḥ somyāso barhiṣyēsu nidhīsu priyēsu
tā ā gamantu tā ihā cṛuvantu ādhi bruvantu tē 'vantv asmān

Cf. AV. 18. 3. 45:

ūpahūtā nah pitāraḥ somyāso barhiṣyēsu nidhīsu priyēsu
tā ā gamantu tā ihā cṛuvantu ādhi bruvantu tē 'vantasmān

'The fathers, who are worthy of the Soma, have been summoned to their own offerings upon the *barhis*. They shall come hither; here they shall hear, shall bless, and aid us.'

To Soma, VS. 6. 33:

yāt te soma divī jyotīr yāt pṛthivyām yād urāv antārikṣe
tēnāsmāi yājamānāyorū rāyē kṛdhyādhi dātré vocaḥ

'What light, O Soma, thou hast in heaven, what on earth, what in the wide atmosphere, with that widely make wealth for this one sacrificing; mayest thou bless the giver.'

Secondly, the Hindu orator needed the blessing of Indra to overcome his opponents, AV. 2. 27. 7:

tāsya prāçam tvām jahi yó na indrābhīdāsati
ādhi no brūhi çaktibhiḥ prāçī mām úttaram kṛdhi

'Smite thou the debate of him that is hostile to us, O Indra. Bless us with ability, make me superior in the debate.'

It seems more logical to assume that the orator wants ability bestowed upon him than that the god should encourage him with an outside force, the god's might.

In the third place under non-warlike situations, we shall place a prayer for health. In the following stanza, the poet asks the Maruts to be blessed with *bheṣajam*, RV. 8. 20. 26:

vīçvam páçyanto bibhrthā tanūṣv ā tēnā no ādhi vocata
kṣamā rápo maruta āturasya na īskartā víhrutam púnah

'Seeing all (the *bheṣajam*), bear it on your bodies. Therewith bless us. O Maruts, banish into the earth the disease of the sick man. For us replace the dislocated limb.'

In the fourth place, Death and other malevolent deities had to be conciliated. These passages are of special importance on

account of the naturally hostile character of the deities. We have already considered AV. 6. 13. 2, which we treated first in view of the importance of the passage in establishing the meaning of the words under consideration.

We have a prayer to Death in AV. 8. 2. 8:

*asmāi mṛtyo ādhi brūhīmān dayasvōd itōṣ 'yām etu
āriṣṭaḥ sārvaṅgaḥ suçrúj jarásū çatāhāyana ātmānā bhūjam
açnutām*

'Bless him, O Death; pity him. May he from here arise; unharmed, perfect in his limbs, hearing well, by old age a hundred years old, may he attain enjoyment with himself.'

We find charms addressed to malignant powers, as Bhava and Çarva. One of these, AV. 4. 28. 7, has been treated above, p. 215.

AV. 8. 2. 7:

*ādhi brūhi mā rabhathāḥ sṛjémān távāivā sánt sārvaḥāyā ihāstu
bhāvāçarvāu mṛdātām çárma yachatam apasídhya duritām
dhattam āyuh*

'Bless thou (him); do not seize him; let him go. Though he be thy very own, let him abide here, having all his strength. O Bhava and Çarva, be ye gracious; yield protection; driving away difficulty, bestow ye (long?) life.'

In AV. 11. 2. 20 we have a prayer to Rudra, especially as Bhava and Çarva:

*mā no hinsīr ādhi no brūhi pári no vṛndhi mā krudhaḥ
mā tvāyā sámaramahi*

'Do not harm us; bless us, spare us, do not be angry; let us not come into collision with thee.'

Another stanza addressed to Rudra is found in RV. 1. 114. 10:

*ārē te goghnām utā pūruşaghnām kṣāyadvīra sumnām asmé te
astu*

*mṛlā ca no ādhi ca brūhi devādhā ca naḥ çárma yacha dvibār-
hāḥ*

'Far away be thy killing of cattle and thy killing of men; may thy favor be with us, O ruler of heroes. Be gracious unto us and bless us, O God. Thou who art doubly strong, grant us protection.'

Rudra, the malignant deity, is called the blesser in VS. 16. 5:
ādhy avocaḍ adhivaktā prathamó dāivyo bhiṣák
āhiṇṣ ca sárvaṇ jambháyant sárvaṣ ca yātudhānyò 'dharācīḥ
pārū suva

'The blesser, the first divine physician, blessed. Destroying them, frighten away both all the snakes and all the female demons.'

In AV. 3. 26. 1-6 homage is paid to malignant deities (snakes?) in the various quarters:

yēṣ 'syām sthā prācyām diṇi hotāyo nāma devās tēṣām vo agnir
īṣavaḥ | té no mṛdata té nó 'dhi brūta tébhyo vo nāmas
tébhyo vaḥ svāhā (1)

yēṣ 'syām sthā dākṣīṇāyām diṇy aṇiṣyāvo nāma devās tēṣām
vaḥ kāma īṣavaḥ | té no ° (2)

And so on, with other directions, in v. 3-6.

'Ye gods that are in the eastern quarter, missiles by name—of you there the arrows are fire. Be gracious to us, bless us. To you there homage, to you there hail!' &c.

In the fifth place under non-warlike situations, we shall consider blessing desired as protection from demons and from other injury (excluding war and disease).

Agni, the demon-slayer, blesses his devotees, AV. 1. 16. 1:

yē 'māvāsyāmṣ rātrim udāsthur vrājām atrīṇaḥ
agnis turīyo yātuhā só asmābhyam ādhi bravat

'What devouring demons have arisen in troops on the night of the new moon—; the fourth Agni is the demon-slayer; he shall bless us.'

A blessing is invoked in AV. 6. 7. 2:

yēna soma sāhanty āsurān randhāyāsi naḥ
tēnā no ādhi vocata

'With what, O Soma, conquering one, thou makest the Asuras subject to us, with that bless us.'

The favor of the Ādityas is desired in RV. 8. 67. 6:

yád vaḥ grāntāya sunvaté várūtham āsti yác chardīḥ
tēnā no ādhi vocata

'What shattering defense you have for him who toils in pouring oblations, therewith bless us.'

The suppliant prays for a blessing and help unto the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 63. 11:

viṣve yajatrā ādhi vocatotāye trāyadhvam no durévāyā abhihrútaḥ

satyāyā vo deváhūtyā huvema ṣṛṇvató devā ávase svastāye

'All you holy ones, bless us that we may have your help; protect us from malignant injury. With effective invocation of the gods we would call upon you, O Gods, for help, for prosperity (and find you) willing to listen.'

In a prayer for long life, the amulet of *darbha* is called a blessing, AV. 19. 32. 9:

yó jāyamānaḥ pṛthivīm ādrñhad yó ástabhnād antárīkṣam dívam ca

yám bíbhṛataṁ nanú pāpmā viveda sá no 'yám darbho dharuṇo¹ 'dhivākaḥ

'He that, being born, made firm the earth and propped the atmosphere and the heaven, whose wearer evil never finds, that *darbha* here is our supporter and blessing.'

Finally in VS. 15. 1 Agni is besought for a blessing:

agne jātān pránuda naḥ sapátnān práty ájātān nuda jātavedaḥ ādhi no brūhi sumānā áhedaṁs táva syāma cārmaṁs trivárūtha udbhāu

'O Agni, drive away the men that are hostile to us; ward off, O Jātavedas, our unborn enemies. Bless us, thou well-disposed one; may we not be angry with thee, in thy sufficient shelter, which protects threefold.'

Now as regards the syntax of *adhi*√*bru* and *adhi*√*vac*, we find that they always govern the dative of the person blessed. Numerous examples occur in the passages quoted above. Latin *benedicere*, meaning 'to bless,' regularly governs the accusative of the person, but it also takes the dative, e. g.: Plaut. *Rud.* 640, bene equidem tibi dico, qui te digna ut eveniat precer; Vulg. *Gen.* 9. 1, benedixit . . . deus Noe et filiis eius; *Iob* 31. 20, si non benedixerunt mihi latera eius.

In our examples we have one instance of the dative of the thing to which the blessing leads, the dative of purpose: RV.

¹ Read thus with Pāippalāda; see Whitney's note *ad loc.*

10. 63. 11, *ūtāye* 'unto aid.' This is essentially equivalent in ultimate meaning, to the usual *instrumental*.

In the following passages we have the *instrumental of the thing*.

The suppliant prays to be blessed with:

çaktibhiḥ, 'with powers' (in debate), AV. 2. 27. 7;

tēnā (= *bheṣajēna*) 'with that (remedy),' RV. 8. 20. 26;

tēnā (= *yēna soma . . . āsurān randhāyāsi*), 'with that (power by which thou betrayest the demons),' AV. 6. 7. 2;

tēnā (= *vārūthēna chardīṣā*), 'with that (sheltering defense),' RV. 8. 67. 6;

tēnā (*pathā*), 'with that (path which is easy and free from thorns)' RV. 2. 27. 6; [cf. RV. 8. 30. 3: *mā naḥ pathāḥ pītryān mānavād ādhi dūrām nāṣṭa parāvātāḥ*, 'bless us, and do not lead us astray from the path of the fathers, of mankind (Manu?)']];

tēbhir . . . pathibhiḥ . . . rākṣā ca no ādhi ca brūhi deva (*savitāḥ*), 'with these paths of thine (ancient, free from dust, well-made) do thou protect and bless us,' RV. 1. 35.

11. Here we have a kind of zeugma; the meaning is 'protect us *by means of* the paths and bless us *with* them (= afford them to us, lead us upon them).'

We also find in three examples the *locative of situation*. All these instances refer to battle.

The suppliant asks to be blessed in:

pṛtanāsu, 'battles,' AV. 4. 28. 7;

tātrā = *ājā*, 'battle,' RV. 7. 83. 2;

dhāneṣu hitēsu, 'where (or when) wealth is at stake, i. e. in battle,' RV. 8. 16. 5.

From this examination of all the passages in the Rig- and Atharva-Veda that contain *adhi√vac* and *adhi√brū*, we conclude that the only meaning they have is 'to bless.' This view, indeed, is strengthened by the fact that in all the above quotations some deity or other is invoked. A blessing is the thing that is most frequently sought in all prayers. They universally govern the *dative of the person blessed*, and may be used with the *instrumental of the thing* or the *locative of situation*.

The Eighth Campaign of Sargon.—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Several years ago the Louvre came into possession of a clay tablet some fifteen inches long by ten wide, containing 430 long lines in four columns. Fortunately, the text is in a very fair state of preservation. On examination it proved to be a description of the eighth campaign of Sargon III (714 B. C.), against Armenia, couched in the form of a letter from the king to Aššûr,¹ the head of the Assyrian pantheon. This unique document gives us an entirely new idea of the true character of Assyrian historiography, which was by no means limited to bare annals and enumerations. Aside from such purple spots as Sennacherib's account of the battle of Xalûle and sections of the Rassam Prism of Sardanapalus, the royal inscriptions were a literary wilderness. Our text, however, is written in a highly rhythmical style, interspersed with flashes of pure poetry, and striking descriptions of natural scenery, mountains, forests, glaciers, and cataracts.

Here we have a product of the early years of the great literary renaissance which set in with the Sargonid dynasty. Young enthusiasm had not yet degenerated into scholasticism, such as we find under Esarhaddon and Aššûrbânipal. We would expect to find reminiscences of the great literary masterpieces at a time when they were being freshly cultivated. Nor are we mistaken; for instance, lines 16, 19 (NE. 9. 39 f.), 52, 193, are adorned with spoil from the Gilgameš-epos, which may well be called the Assyrian national epic.

¹ Delitzsch has probably gone too far in attempting to make a distinction between the orthography of the city and the god. The writing *Aššûr* for the divine name is found in the earliest period (see Holma, *OLZ.* 15. 446). Aššûr is the patron of his city Aššûr. At an early date he was identified with the god Ašir (form like 𐎶𐎶, for **kabîd*), consort of Aširat, who was introduced into the north by the Amorites (under Ilusumma?), toward the close of the third millennium. The distinctive features of Ašir survived to the end of the empire in Amûru, consort of Aširat = Bêlit-çêri, and chariot-driver of Aššûr. The writing *Ašûr* for the latter is very possibly due to contamination with Ašir.

Of first-rate importance is the archaeological information strewed thru the inscription. The account of Armenian horse-breeding does not suffer by comparison with classical statements in regard to Iranian methods. To our sorrow, however, the invaluable account of Rusas' extensive reclamation projects and (apparently) attempts at agrarian reform is badly mutilated. Curiously enough, the Assyrian, who condemns Rusas' arrogance so severely, is willing to describe at length the statesman-like achievements of the Chaldian. Nor does he lessen our respect for Rusas by the disdainful tone in which he quotes the epigraph on a statue representing the king in his chariot: 'With my two horses and my charioteer I conquered the kingdom of Ararat.'

The text has been treated in a masterly manner by the distinguished French Assyriologist, François Thureau-Dangin. His excellent treatment (*Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912) has been supplemented by his reviewers: Bezold (ZA. 28. 400-406), Langdon (PSBA. 36. 24-34), Pinches (JRAS. 1913. 581-612), and Ungnad (ZDMG. 67. 175-177). I wish to give briefly the results of my gleanings, with a few philological notes on difficult passages and unusual words.

Line 9. Langdon is probably correct (RA. 12. 79, n. 11) in combining *qarṭāmu* with קרטם and قرط, tho قرضم had better be left out of consideration. The word may have meant originally 'the cutter,' 'slanderer' (cf. *garṣē akālu*, etc.).

Line 21. Langdon observes (in his review) that Th.-D.'s correction of *xududû* to *iqdudû* is unnecessary. Moreover, we should expect a permansive here. Th.-D. would read the close of the line *ana itaplussa* (text *nî*) *ina inê šitpurat puluṣtu*, which Ungnad corrects to *ana itaplus nîl inê šitpurat puluṣtu*, which might mean 'in beholding the glance of the eyes fear is sent forth'—incomprehensible. Moreover, the infinitive is left without an object.

Line 23. Ungnad's reading *šadāl karši* ('expanding of the mind') in place of *šāri karši*, 'le souffle intérieur,' is unquestionably right.

Line 50. The words *imār udrê ilitti mâtīšunu* (Media) furnish additional proof that *udru* is 'Bactrian camel,' the Avestan *uštra*, from which *udru* (for **ušdru*) is derived.

Line 54. The passage *ana kunni šarrātišu ipqāda* (rythmical accent) *narāšu* must be rendered 'for the maintenance of his sovereignty he set up his stele.' The verb, *paqādu*, here exhibits the same nuance of meaning as the Hebrew שִׁים in such a passage as האֵכֶן הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַתִּי מִצֵּבָה (Gen. 28. 22). *Paqādu ana*, appoint over, is employed precisely like שִׁים עַל; cf. also Gen. 27. 37, הֵן גִּבִּיר אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַתִּיו לָךְ. After giving Sargon valuable gifts, together with his eldest son, to be trained under Assyrian auspices, Ullusunū set up his stele to symbolize the permanence of his dynasty and his own position as viceroy of the Assyrian, perhaps portraying himself as Bêl-axxê-eriba does on the so-called Merodach-Baladan stone. Royal stelae frequently received divine honors.

Line 90. The verb *kummuru* is used here in its proper sense, 'heap up,' whence we have *karmu*, 'ruin.' In l. 183 *kamru* = *karmu*. Cf. also 101, *kitmuru-ma* = 'heaped up.' The original meaning of the stem is 'pour out' (see *Haupt*, *AJSL*. 32. 64 ff.), hence 'heap up' (like *šapāku*), 'overwhelm' (*kamāru* also = 'cover, overpower with a net').

Line 111. Th.-D. now (RA. 11. 86 f.) renders *šutêlupu ananti* as 'joining battle,' instead of 'multiplication des (préparatifs) guerriers.' He still, however, maintains the existence of a verb *elêpu*, 'pousser, croître.' I am inclined to think that all supposed occurrences of this stem really belong to *elêpu* (or *alêpu*) 'bind' (whence *itlupu*, *alpu*, *elippu*, etc.), and *elêbu*, 'be fruitful, flourishing.' *Elêbu* may possibly be combined with חָלַב (חָלַב 'milk'; cf. אֶרֶץ זֶבֶת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ), in view of the fact that *duš-šupu* (*dīšpu* = דִּישׁ) and *ḫuzzudu* are used in the same metaphorical sense as *ullubu*. This comparison must, nevertheless, be considered as problematical. At all events, *šutêlupu* = *šutê'ulu* (stem אָלַל and not שָׂאֵל, as Th.-D. seems to think), and *bullulu*, clearly means 'bind.' Accordingly, we may perhaps render AO. 4135, Rev. 5-6: *Šar-ur-ra an-ta lugal-bi-ir ugu-bi šu-ba-an-si-ab-ri-ri* = *Šarur eliš ana bêlišu elišu gâtīšu uštētē'il*, as 'Šarur clasped his hands (!) above (his head) before his lord (in admiration of his prowess).'

Line 117. The close of this line seems to have baffled the ingenuity of scholars, owing to the fact that the scribe has miswritten *ši* for *pi*. We must read *bêl Aššûr dandānu ša ina uzzat tēgimtišu rabīti malkê ša kiššati êtīnū-ma uštapīla lānāti*,

'The mighty lord of Aššûr, who by the glowing of his great wrath dazes the princes of the world and strikes them with terror.' Langdon (PSBA. 36. 27) understood *êtînû*, which he compared with *e-te-ni* (*Kudurru Melišipak*, 5. 8), from *enû*, 'change.' However, this meaning does not seem to be particularly appropriate in our passage, where *enû* seems, rather, to correspond to *šanû* (*têma*), חלף, حلف, 'be insane, silly,' etc. As *enû* is usually transitive, we may translate it by أَمَتَ, 'daze, deprive of reason.'

Uštapîla must be derived, of course, from *šupêlu*, synonym of *enû*. For the reflexive cf. SBH. 5. 17, *Ellil ša çit pišu lâ uš-te-pil-lum*, 'Ellil, the word of whose mouth is not altered' (here passive). Cf. also the cases cited AG.² 304, HW. 514b. For the meaning of *šupêlu lānāti* (on the etymology of *lānu* = لَوْن, 'color,' לֵין, 'spend the night,' i. e. 'be enclosed'—cf. Latin *complectio*—see Haupt, BA. 10. 2), cf. Dan. 5. 9, חִיּוּרֵי שָׁנִין, עלורה, from terror. The Aramaic idiom is paralleled still more closely in l. 128, *ikkira zīmušin*, 'their color was altered (from excessive fatigue)'; cf. also Job 14. 20, מִשְׁנֵה פָנָיו. In Myhrman's *Labartu*, p. 18, l. 3, we have *zīmi turraqi bunnanē tušpêli*, 'thou dost make the complexion sallow (of a pregnant woman), and dost alter the bodily form.' Since *enû* probably meant primarily (like עָנָה) 'suppress,' it is quite possible that *šupêlu* is a causative of *bêlu*, 'to master, overrule.' *Šupêlu* may also be an Akkadian modification of Sum. *šu-bal*, 'alter.'

Line 121. Th.-D.'s reading *mêšar* is decidedly preferable to Ungnad's *šipti*.

Line 126. The form *i-miš-šú* is extremely hard to explain; Th.-D.'s conjectural rendering, 's'enfuiant,' is unlikely, because we should in this case expect *scriptio plena* with the relative. Nor can it be derived from *amāšu*, as Langdon suggests. I am inclined to read the line, *kakkêšu ezzûti ša ina ačišunu ištu çit Šamsi adī erêb Šamsi lâ-māgirê ilāqat[û]idû'a umā'er-ma*, 'his raging weapons, which, as they issue forth from the east to the west, annihilate the rebellious, to my side he entrusted.'

Line 135. In connection with *kīdu*, 'field,' I wish to point out that *kīdānu*, 'outside' (see Meissner, MVAG. 18. 2, 51 ff.), a form like *šaplānu*, *elēnu*, תִּיכּוֹן, חִיצוֹן, etc., shows a development precisely like בָּרָא. 'field,' 'outdoors.' Its antonym,

bitānu, is naturally to be compared to מְבִית. *Kidu* may stand for **kiddu* (cf. *ḡiru* = صَلَّ, etc.); at all events it is probably connected with كَدِيد and its synonym كَدَّة. The *Lisān*, 4. 381, gives a number of elucidations of *kadiḏ*: e. g. *walkadīdu 'l'arḏu 'lmakdūdatu bilhawāfiri*. After some ground has been well trodden by the hoofs of animals, nothing will grow on it. As a further illustration we are told: *walkadīdu mā ḡaluza mina 'l'arḏi* (= *eqil namraḡi*) *waḡāla 'Abu 'Ubaid alkadīdu mina 'l'arḏi 'lbaṭnu 'lwāsi'u xuliḡa xalḡa 'l'audiati 'au 'ausa'a minhā*. This wide depression, shaped like an arroyo, or wider than it, would seem to describe a sink, which is, of course, arid. *Kadid* in the sense *alturābu 'lnā'imū fa'idā wuṭi'a ṭāra ḡubāruhu* is privative, 'the dust which is worn off by much trampling.' While these meanings are all specialized, we are safe in concluding that *kidu* meant primarily 'rough, waste land,' hence 'open, uncultivated land,' in general.

Line 147. The similarity between this line and Jos. 10. 11a, is most striking. Here we assist at the very birth of a miracle. A hailstorm occurred soon after the battle; with a touch of poetic hyperbole, this might in each case be interpreted as a special interpretation of Adad, or conversely JHWH. 11a sounds like a contemporary description; 11b, however, introduces us into the realm of legendary embellishment.

Line 172. So far as I know, the word *litku* (*litikšun*), which Th.-D. renders conjecturally by 'troupe,' is found only in this passage. The context agrees with this translation very well; moreover, it seems to be supported by philological considerations. There was unquestionably a stem *latāku* = *natāku*, 'pour,' in Assyrian, corresponding to the לַתֶּךְ of Zinjirli (cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG. 47. 98). Haupt has pointed out that לַתֶּךְ (Hos. 3. 2), a measure of capacity, must have been originally a liquid measure (לַתֶּךְ = נֶתֶךְ cf. צֶלֶם = صَم, etc.). In a vocabulary published by Weidner (see RA. 11. 126), we have *litiktu*, syn. of *xummu*, tho the word seems to puzzle Weidner. *Xummu* is explained as *maltū ḡirru*, 'small drinking-cup' (HW. 695b). *Litku*, 'troop, squadron,' seems, therefore, to present a development like صَبَا, 'troop,' from صَبَّ, 'pour' (cf. صَبَّ عَلَى, 'lead a

band against'). Similarly, *افاض*, 'pour out,' also means 'walk in procession' (cf. German *wallen*). To the same stem belongs unquestionably *maltaktu*, *maštaktu* (HW. 696a), 'casting' (molten metal, as the ideogram *GIŠ-LU-LU* also indicates). The *l* is more original than the *š*, as in *manzaltu*, *manzaštu* (نزل; see Clay in OLZ. 18). The same phenomenon is found in such Assyrian (in its local sense) forms as *isēqī* = *išēqī* = *illēqī*. The opposite process is secondary; *l* became primarily *š*, just as *r* became *š* before dentals (*martuku* = *maštuku*, etc.). It is not impossible that *maštaku* was originally the room in which the wine-jars were kept (cf. German *Schenke*), hence 'store-room' (cf. מִלְחָה, 'room.')

Line 173. *pitzallu* (lit. 'opening of the crotch') is an expression like *pit-puridu*. This explanation, proposed by Th.-D., seems to exclude the very plausible comparisons made with *puzālu*, 'male' (also 'stallion'), and Ar. *fahl*, 'stallion.'

Line 175. As Ungnad observes, we must read *ikrubu* instead of *igrubu*. The chiefs of Rusas' defeated army, fleeing before Sargon, came to the troops in the garrisons, who had given way to their fear and lay groveling on the ground. Stooping over them, the heralds of defeat related the story of the disastrous rout, which so affected them that they fainted away (*iksūdū mītūtīš*). This, of course, is only a stereotyped motif of the Assyrian historiographers.

Line 209. The word *saxxu* is clearly connected with *سَخاخ*, 'good ground,' and means 'productive, meadow land,' not barren, or alkaline.

Line 223. Nearly two-thirds of this line is wanting. What remains may be read [*nādāti*] *qaranē ʿa'nā-ma kīma tīq šamē ināqā*, 'the skins, which were filled with wine, dripped like the downpour of heaven.' No doubt they had been slashed open by the Assyrian soldiers, à la Don Quixote. *Nāqu* means ordinarily 'weep,' but the ideas 'weep, drip, leak,' are very closely allied (cf. *بكى*, 'weep,' and *بكأ*, 'drip.' *فاق* 'clarify grease,' naturally means 'drip (grease)'; grease is clarified by straining it over a slow fire. *Naqū*, 'pour out, spill,' is ultimately to be connected with *nāqu*.)

Line 228. Th.-D. renders *ana mušši teḡiti lā ʿzība šubultu*, 'pour réparer la ruine je ne laissai pas un épi.' *Mašū*, however,

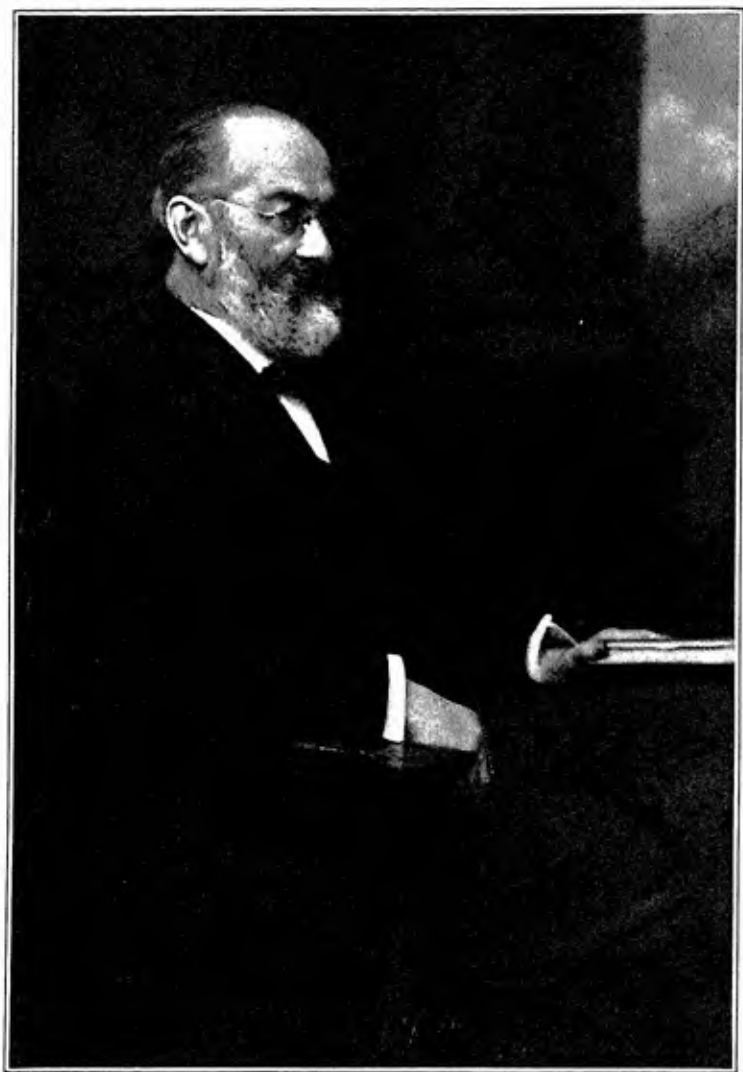
means 'be dark' (see Weidner BA. 9. 1. 82, n. 1, and esp. RA. 11. 127, *mi-šal*[!]=*šumšû*, 'darken'; Weidner thinks *NI*=*namâru* and *mašû* is an example of antiphrasis), 'cover' (cf. *ḫa*=*ešû*). Accordingly, we may render the passage 'to cover the ruin I did not leave a stalk.'

Line 253. Ungnad is undoubtedly correct in reading *A-KAL*=*mîlu*, 'flood,' instead of *arib*, 'locust.'

Line 270. Here we have a veritable *cruz interpretum*, upon which I am unable to throw any light.

Line 343. Ungnad's reading *galṭu*, for Th.-D.'s *rabitu*, is again obviously correct.

Line 362. Much to my surprise, I have been unable to find anyone who has combined *kiuru*, 'basin,' with כִּיּוֹר. Doubtless there are others in the same perplexity. The word is probably Sumerian, with no kinship to כּוֹר. At all events the כִּיּוֹר נַחֲשֶׁת (2 Chr. 6. 13), 5 cubits x 5 x 3, upon which Solomon knelt at the dedication of the temple, is clearly Sum. *ki-ûr*, or *ki-ûr* (SGL. 49) = *duruššu* (syn. of *išdu*), and *nêrib erçiti*^m, 'entrance to Hades.' Cf. Langdon *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 138, whose statements, however, must be taken with caution. *Duruššu* does not mean 'dwelling.' While I do not care to venture upon such a treacherous surface at present, perhaps some other scholar, gifted with a keener vision, may be able to show the way.



WILLIAM HAYES WARD

In Memoriam

WILLIAM HAYES WARD

(1835-1916)

By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., University of Pennsylvania

At the meeting of the American Oriental Society held during Easter week, 1916, in Washington, D. C., it was decided to dedicate a volume of the *JOURNAL* to William Hayes Ward, a former president of the Society and for many years an active member, in order to mark by this tribute the eightieth anniversary of his birth. Before the volume was issued Dr. Ward passed away, and it now appears as a memorial to him in grateful recognition of his valuable services in furthering Oriental research in this country. It seems fitting to add a biographical sketch of his career, so as to have a permanent record of one who had endeared himself to his associates and colleagues during an intercourse extending over many years and who well deserves to be remembered.

William Hayes Ward was born in Abington, Mass., on June 25, 1835. He came from a family in which the clerical life had become almost a tradition. His great-grandfather and grandfather were ministers of the first church of Plymouth, N. H., and his father, James Wilson Ward, was for twenty-one years pastor of the First Congregational Church at Abington. His mother was Hetta Lord Hayes, oldest daughter of Judge William Allen Hayes and Susan Lord of South Berwick, Maine. There was a close intimacy between the Ward and Hayes families, and all the children of both were at some time pupils of the Berwick Academy, adjoining the Hayes house. Mrs. Ward died when William was seven years old, so that the care and education of the five children devolved largely on the father, from whom William received his first instruction at a very early age in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. After a subsequent training at various schools, including a term at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., William entered Amherst College, from which he graduated with distinction in 1856. After teaching for a short time,

he entered Union Theological Seminary, New York, whence after a short stay he went to the Theological School of Yale College; and then after a brief interval of teaching at Beloit College, Wisconsin, he entered the Senior class at the Andover Theological Seminary in July, 1858, and graduated in 1859. In thus passing from one seminary to the other, he was following his father's advice to get the "cream" of all three institutions. He was licensed to preach in January, 1859, by the Middlesex South Association, and on August 6th of the same year married Ellen Maria Dickinson, whom he had met during his stay in Beloit. The American Board of Missions having rejected an offer of his services because of the delicate health of his wife, he applied to the Congregational Home Missionary Society and was sent to Oskaloosa, Kans., where he and his wife spent two years amidst many hardships and privations. He again took to teaching for his livelihood, first at an Academy in Utica and subsequently till 1868 at Ripon College in Wisconsin. During all these years he carried on his studies in various fields, read widely, and we may assume laid the foundations for the profound interest in Oriental research which became the main inspiration of his later career. He also maintained his interest in church affairs, preaching frequently and becoming active on various church and missionary Boards. An offer from Mr. Henry C. Bowen, the proprietor of *The Independent*, to take a position on the editorial staff was the immediate occasion of his moving to New York. That post he retained until his death—during a period of almost half a century. His wife died in 1873, and in 1875 he moved to Newark, thereafter making the trip daily to New York. Retiring from active service on *The Independent* in 1914, though still continuing to write for it, he passed the two closing years of his long life at the old home of the Hayes family in South Berwick—thus returning to the associations of his early boyhood. A carriage accident in the summer of 1915 brought on paralysis of the arms from which he never fully recovered. His strength began to fail, and for five months before the end he was quite helpless. He passed away peacefully on August 28, 1916, and was buried at Berwick.

These skeleton outlines of his life convey little idea of how usefully this life was spent, and how full it was of varied activities. His active participation in church and missionary work continued throughout his life and occupied much of his time.

He served on the American Committee for Bible Revision and on the Simplified Spelling Board. He was for many years a Trustee of Amherst College, was deeply interested in negro colleges in the South, and was a regular attendant at the Mohonk conferences, charged for many years with preparing the platform. His editorial duties on *The Independent* increased as the years went on and consumed his working hours during the daytime. Despite all this, he found time to carry on his studies in the Old and New Testament and in Oriental archaeology, gradually extending his sphere to include the Hittites and the civilization of Babylonia and Assyria, in which during the last thirty years of his life he became deeply versed. How he managed to keep himself abreast with the researches of European and American scholars in these various fields was a source of amazement to his friends. His evenings, spent at his home in Newark, were given to these favorite studies, and such was his diligence, steadily maintained, that little of any moment ever escaped his notice. Becoming a member of the American Oriental Society in 1869, he rarely failed to attend the meetings, held semi-annually until 1890 and after that annually; and he generally came prepared to lay the results of his researches before his fellow workers. He became one of the most active workers, was for many years a Director of the Society, and was twice honored by election to the Presidency, first in 1890 and again in 1909. His first paper before the Society was published in the Proceedings in 1870. He was also an active member of the Society of Biblical Literature, attending the annual meetings regularly. The breadth of his knowledge was particularly manifest in his discussions of the papers read, which were always fertile in suggestion. His strong wish to see this country take a share in the excavations of Babylonian and Assyrian cities led him to accept the Directorship of the Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia in 1884. Several months were spent in examining a number of mounds in the region with a view to further excavations, and it was the stimulus given by this expedition that ultimately led to the organization of a committee of Philadelphians under the leadership of Dr. William Pepper, then Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and of the Rev. John P. Peters, then Professor of Hebrew at the same institution. This movement culminated in the expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur from 1888 to 1900, first under

the direction of Dr. Peters and then under the leadership of the late John Henry Haynes, whose service to the cause of Babylonian archaeology should not be forgotten. Dr. Ward had the satisfaction of seeing a second American expedition sent to Babylonia with Dr. E. J. Banks as Director, under the auspices of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Ward's chief interest in the field of Oriental research became more and more concentrated on the study of the Seal Cylinders of Babylonia and Assyria, of which large numbers had turned up in the course of the excavations and private diggings of native Arabs. While the importance of these cylinders, both because of the designs on them and because of the short descriptions which frequently accompanied the design, had been recognized, chiefly through the work of the French Assyriologist, Joachim Ménant, Dr. Ward was the first to systematize the study by a determination of the groups into which they fell. He also established, by careful investigation of the workmanship on the seals and the character of the designs, more definite criteria for their division into periods. Hittite seals became sharply differentiated from Babylonian cylinders, and these again from Assyrian cylinders and from still later specimens of the Persian period. His eye became sharpened to distinguish many details on the objects which had escaped the attention of others. He showed the importance of the designs as illustrations of Babylonian-Assyrian myths and popular tales, and also utilized them in elucidating the views held of the gods and goddesses. These results, first communicated in a series of papers appearing in various journals, led to two fundamental works on the subject: (1) 'Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan,' (New York, 1909); and (2) 'Seal Cylinders of Western Asia,' published under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution (Washington, 1910). The former work contains detailed descriptions of 323 Seal Cylinders with a most valuable introduction, in which the results of his study of Mr. Morgan's splendid collection are summed up, while the latter is recognized in every sense of the word as covering the entire period. In the preparation of this *magnum opus*, Dr. Ward ransacked the museums and private collections of Europe and this country. Realizing that for a detailed study no process of photographic reproduction could bring out all the features of the designs, which were often so faint and worn as to be

scarcely distinguishable, he had careful drawings made of the 1315 specimens included in the volume. With a broad division of the Seal Cylinders into Babylonian, Assyrian, Syro-Hittite, and Persian, he grouped together the specimens that showed the same designs, traced the development and modifications of these designs, and thus gave scholars for the first time a comprehensive and thoroughly scholarly view of the large and steadily increasing field. His work laid down the canons to be followed in the study of the Seal Cylinders, and it is safe to predict that his contribution will retain for a long time to come the position that it now holds of being *the source* for the subject, and a monument at the same time to Dr. Ward's industry, acumen, and learning in many fields. Dr. Ward's extensive readings in many fields, as well as his knowledge of botany—a favorite study with him ever since boyhood days—and other natural sciences appear throughout his work, and enabled him to propose satisfactory solutions for some of the designs on the seals that had baffled others before him.

Outside of the Oriental field his contributions in the form of articles, editorials, and reports of all kinds, published chiefly in *The Independent*, were in the nature of things of a fleeting character, but mention should be made here of his share in calling attention to the poetry of Sidney Lanier. Many of Lanier's poems first saw the light of day in *The Independent*. After the poet's early death it was through the exertions of Dr. Ward that Scribners issued, in 1884, a volume of Lanier's verse, to which Dr. Ward contributed a biographical memoir. Dr. Ward's last large work was an exceedingly interesting and finely written 'confession of faith,' published in 1915 under the title of "What I Believe, and Why." He had lived through a period marked by discoveries in the realms of natural science and by researches in the field of Old and New Testament studies and the bearings of archæology on Palestinian customs and beliefs, that had largely changed the point of view of thinkers towards religious doctrines and beliefs. As a genuine scholar, Dr. Ward faced the conflict thus aroused between established tradition and the postulates of scientific activity boldly and frankly. He solved the problem for himself, and in the autobiography of his own intellectual and spiritual life sets down the solution for others. The book is a reflection of the man as he appeared to those who were brought into association with him—intensely

sympathetic with all earnest efforts, whether in the field of scholarship or public service, excessively modest in the estimate of his own achievements, while generous towards those of his colleagues, always ready to give his time and strength to any good cause, having a broad grasp of any subject in which he became interested, keen in his interpretation of scientific material and always fertile in thought.

Material for this sketch was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Ward's sister, Miss Susan Hayes Ward, to whom I beg to express my deep obligation.

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* Abbreviations:

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages.

BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.

H = Hebraica.

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.

PAOS = Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.

SST = Sunday School Times.

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

First notation after abbreviation indicates vol.; the second notation, the page or pages.

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Indra as God of Fertility.—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University.

During the drought and famine which accompanied the outbreak of plague in India in 1896-1897 the peasants of the Ganges valley lived in the hope that 'Indra would send rain,' and further west, at Ahmedabad, the local priests circumambulated the city hymning the same desire in more orthodox form. For to the peasant Indra has lost his ancient personality and is vaguely conceived as a god somehow connected with Śiva, but his essential character persists and as a divinity of rain and fertility he is even to-day potent in the imagination of the Hindu.

There is something that appeals to our imagination also in the realization that this god, who is older than Brahman, Vishnu, and Śiva, still has his worshipers. No other god, unless it be the, rather impersonal Heaven of the Chinese, has been revered with uninterrupted devotion for so many centuries. The gods of Egypt and Babylon were born earlier perhaps, but they all died long ago. Indra, worshiped to-day, was already a notable god fourteen hundred years before the Christian era. His contemporaries, Varuṇa, Mitra, and the 'healing' Twins, who correspond to the Dioskouroi, have long since vanished from the mind of the people. But Indra perdures, at least as giver of rain.

Outside of India, this god, under the name Indra or Andra (possibly connected with Anglo-Saxon *ent*, 'giant') was recognized as a demon so important that he stands third in the list of evil spirits opposed to the good powers of the Zoroastrian, his only superiors being the Evil One himself and the Corpse-demon.

In my *Epic Mythology* I have pointed out that Indra in epic literature is a god of fertility as well as a god of battles. The feast of Indra, which comes at the end of the wet season (cf. BS. 43), is a stated festival, not, as later, a celebration of a victory, in which a pole gaudily decked is set up as the central object of a popular merry-making. Indra is the 'crop-controller,' *pākaśāsana* (misunderstood of course as 'controller of Pāka' and interpreted in terms of war as conqueror). All grain that springs up without cultivation is called grain raised by

Indra. He is 'lord of the water-givers (clouds).' The expression 'when it rains' is indifferently 'when the god rains' or 'when Vāsava (Indra) rains.' When a categorical answer is demanded to the question 'What is the especial business of Indra?', the answer is not 'to lead the gods to battle' but 'to bestow energy, children, and happiness' (*op. cit.* p. 123 f.).

The bestowal of energy and of children is a function of Indra, noticed as early as the Rig-Veda, to which I called attention in this JOURNAL twenty-one years ago; but its importance has been practically ignored since then, as it was in previous discussions of the god's character. Ludwig, for example, in his *résumé* did not even allude to it. Nevertheless, if we consider the persistence of this trait through the native literature, it cannot be relegated to a subsidiary place, as if fertility-giving were a late-developed attribute of a panergetes or *viśvakarman* god, though this title is given him in the Rig-Veda.

To resume the study of Indra in post-Vedic works, it is significant that the law-book of Manu recognizes him only as a god of power who 'rains for four months.' His wife, according to Pāraskara (2. 17. 9), is Sītā, that is, the personified furrow (not Sāvitrī, as native tradition has it). The sacrifice to Indra is here conjoined with that to (the fertile field) Urvarā, also called Sītā, and to Bhūti, personified Prosperity, the offerings being of rice and barley. Baudhāyana (3. 3) agrees with the epic in recognizing all wild plant life as produced by Indra. Several plants are called especially by his name. An early example is that of the *ādāra*-plants known as 'Indra's might' (ŚB. 14. 1. 2. 12). In the *Saṅtrāmaṇi* (ib. 12. 7. 1) the meaning of the legend that plants and virile forces come from his body is that he produces the plants and animals mentioned. He is here the 'giver of life.' The he-goat and barley, with jujubes, the ram and 'Indra-grain' were the first products of his *vīrya* (virile or vital power); afterwards came the bull, horse, mule, ass, etc., till Indra lay exhausted and the gods said, 'He was the best of us; let us cure him.' Here too the bull is represented as the one animal especially sacred to Indra. These peculiarly virile animals, goat, ram, and bull reflect best the *vīrya* of the god, whose virtue to be sure is bravery but more essentially is virility. 'The Earth, whose bull is Indra' (AV. 12. 1. 6), is a distinct allusion to the fructification of earth through the god. That the god is the rain-god may be surmised even from the fact that

both in epic and legal literature the rainbow is called the 'bow of Indra.' Also the 'net of Indra,' which in the epic is regarded as a kind of magic weapon, is perhaps in its earlier appearance, where it encircles all men with darkness (AV. 8. 8. 8), nothing more than fog or mist. Indra's 'arrows' or darts are rain (e. g. Pār. GS. 3. 15. 18).

The appeal, 'Do not forsake us, Indra,' is one offered at the ceremony of first-fruits and is followed by the marking of the cattle, also associated with the same god (ŚGS. 3. 8). But more than this, in sympathy with the whole conception of the Indra of every-day life, the sky is said to become pregnant with Indra and (at a certain time) the householder's wife is addressed with the words, '(As) Indra puts the embryo in the cow, (so) do thou conceive' (Hiraṇ. GS. 1. 7. 5). He is one of the gods who assure the birth of a male child (ŚGS. 1. 17). Indra granted to women the boon of having children (elaboration of the story that they assumed his guilt when he slew the son of Tvaṣṭr, Vās. 5. 7). As was to be expected from a god of fertility, Indra shows his power in the human race as well as in the vegetable world. He gives children and crops. When others are associated with him, for he is by no means unique in this regard, it is profitable to study the group. For example, when the plow is first started, there is a group of spirits to whom sacrifice should be made to insure a good harvest. The group consists first of all of Indra; then of his companion spirits, the Maruts; then of his epic double, Parjanya; then of the Aśani, the personified lightning-bolt of Indra; and finally of the genius of getting (and begetting), Bhaga, who in the Rig-Veda is synonymous with Indra (see below). At the same time sacrifice is made to other rural deities, such as the Furrow (Sītā; Gobh. GS. 4. 4. 28). In short, it is no exaggeration to say that, to the householder of the age immediately following that called Vedic, Indra is virtually a god of fertility and nothing more.

The Vedic period differs only in this, that while it presents Indra as god of fertility it dwells also upon his warlike, crushing power, so that he is invoked not only to give fertility and virility, but to destroy it in the case of enemies (e. g. AV. 6. 138. 2). Instances of the former abound. Thus in the magic-mongering Atharva, to back up a charm magically potent to produce virility through an herb, Indra is invoked with the words, 'O Indra, controller of bodies, put virility into him'

(AV. 4. 4. 4). Or, to get a wife, a man entreats Indra, to procure a wife for him with his golden hook, which drags in all sorts of good things (as in the Rig-Veda), while, conversely, Indra is also invoked to provide a husband for a girl (ib. 2. 36. 6.). He is entreated as giver of virility to bestow the power of the goat, the ram, and the bull; and as giver of power he also bestows long life and puts power into the plants (e. g. AV. 4. 19. 8). It is reasonable to suppose that all this hangs together with the fact that Indra is regent of the early spring (Indranaksatra is Phalguni, ŚB. 2. 1. 2. 11), when weddings are in order (AV. 14. 1. 13; possibly, as Hillebrandt suggests, with the belief that Indra is son of the New Year, ib. 3. 10. 13).

In the Rig-Veda, Indra is the close companion of the rain-gods who cannot represent the occasional showers of winter but, with accompaniment of lightning and storm, portray or are the storms of summer, as their sire, the later Śiva, Vedic Rudra, is also god of summer-time. Several books call him especially *marutvat* and *marudgana*, even when Indra is not particularly invoked along with the Maruts. It is only the inner similarity which has united these originally separate elements. Indra had at first nothing to do with the Maruts, who belong to Rudra; but they and their acts are so Indra-like that even the phraseology employed to describe them is that employed to describe the god who has adopted them.

As *dhūnir mūnir va(iva)* describes them (7. 56. 8), so Indra is addressed, 'A storm god, thou (*dhūnir Indra*) hast let out the stormy waters which are like rivers' (*sīrā*, as in 4. 19. 8; 10. 49. 9). Indra here expressly lets out stormy waters which are (not rivers but) 'like rivers' (1. 174. 9). These are the waters referred to as *devīs, svarvatis*, 'heavenly' (1. 173. 8; 3. 32. 6; 5. 2. 11; 8. 40. 10 f.; cf. 10. 63. 15). In the last passage, Indra and the Maruts together are invoked for weal in respect to the waters in the heavenly, *svarvati*, place, and for weal in begetting sons. He is the virile one (or ram, *vr̥ṣṇī*) who leads this herd of Maruts and wins the waters for man and storms out the 'cows' for them. When he gets excited not even heaven and earth together can overpower him (1. 10. 2, 8). He goes between them in the atmosphere what time he seizes the wealth of the hills (1. 51. 2). Now the Maruts themselves fly over the ridges of the hills and are evidently givers of cloud-water, since they darken the sky and flood the earth along with 'water-bring-

ing Parjanya' (1. 38. 8 f.; 5. 58. 3; 8. 46. 18, *vr̥ṣṭīm jananti*, etc.). In these passages they are said to urge on and let out the rain. They are themselves the 'bulls of the sky' and they let the water stream from the sky as they are entreated, in the very words addressed to Indra, for seed and children (*tokām puṣyema tānāyam* (1. 64. 6 and 14; see below). Like Indra, the Maruts in the first passage are like lions and elephants in their roaring and fury, and they are said to bring out, as it were, a strong horse *mihé*, to let out water, an expression we shall meet again used of Indra.

It is by no means a negligible fact that, on the other hand, Indra is entreated to let out the waters, 'life-giving, Marut-accompanied' (1. 80. 4). The poet who says this was thinking of the waters just described given by the Maruts and says at the same time that Indra blows the dragon from the sky as well as from the earth, *vr̥trām jaghantha nīr divāḥ: marútvaṭir apāḥ*. It is impossible to maintain that Indra in the Rig-Veda is not a giver of rain or to confine the possible cases where he gives rain to the passages where rain is mentioned by its prose name. 'Marut-accompanied water' is rain, as a dozen passages prove. Like Indra, the Maruts also 'split the rock' (*parvatam*, 1. 85. 10) and pierce the demons with lightning (1. 86. 9). The sustenance which they stream to man is called *iṣ* (as is that of Indra). They rend the hills; they dance and sing (2. 34. 8; 5. 52. 9, 12); he and they bestow cattle, horses, cars, heroes, perhaps gold (3. 30. 20; 5. 57. 7). As bulls they make tremble mountains, earth, and trees, yet bring healing waters as medicine for ills (8. 20. 5 f.). They are said to be 'in close connection with Indra' (*sāmmiślā indre*, 1. 166. 11). The sap or sustenance, *iṣ*, which Indra 'found in the endless stone' is identical with the 'treasure of the sky' (1. 130. 3) and is one with the *iṣ* distributed by the Maruts (above). This treasure, *nidhi*, is then again the *divāḥ kóśaḥ* ('treasure of the sky') mentioned as having been found by the Maruts, when they 'loosen Parjanya' and send the treasure of rain to earth (5. 53. 6). Thus at all points the activity of the Maruts agrees with that of Indra. The treasure is rain,¹ rain is the sap or sustenance, the sustenance is sent by Indra and by the Maruts. Moreover, the dragon 'stems the sky' before being slain by Indra, whose bolt

¹ In 10. 42. 2, 7, Indra himself as treasure gives grain and cows.

makes the two worlds shudder with its loud sound (2. 11. 9), where the same word is used to describe the sound as is used of Parjanya when thundering (*kánikradat stanáyan*, 5. 83. 9). So of Indra it is said, as of the Maruts (above), that he sends gifts of horses and cows when he thunders (*stanáyan*, 6. 44. 12). Compare (8. 6. 40), 'The bull with the bolt has roared in the sky,' of Indra thundering. For, though an atmospheric god, as is shown by his thunder and the bluster which 'makes the woods roar' (1. 54. 5), he yet 'touches the sky' (1. 23. 2), as he rushes along with the Wind-god, whose close companion he is. Thus it is with Wind that Indra conquers (4. 21. 4) and hence he shares the morning-sacrifice with Wind (4. 46-48; cf. 7. 90. 6). The two are invoked together (1. 2. 4; 135. 7), and it is with the horses of Wind that Indra brings death to Śuśna (1. 175. 4). Indra 'yokes the two horses of the Wind-god,' as if to imply that Indra's two steeds were identical with the winds (10. 22. 4), as is actually stated in Vāl. 2. 8: 'With the horses of the Wind thou puttest to silence the demons and goest about the bright sky.' Hence it is that Indra is said to 'extend the rain as if from the sky' (8. 12. 6). The frequent adverb 'down' is also to be noticed in connection with his sending, though this might apply to the downward course of rivers as well as of rain. Yet 8. 54. 8 is significant: 'Let thy constant favor drip down' (*ní tośaya*), alluding to the sap (rain) mentioned in the preceding verse. Indra climbs on the back of the tottering demon and hews downward at him with his bolt, and this too may be more than the downward stroke of any bestriding victor. It seems to imply, with the many parallel cases of 'smiting down' (1. 80. 5; 2. 17. 5; 5. 29. 4; etc.), what is explicitly said in 3. 31. 8: 'From the sky shining' he frees his friends from shame. For such explicit statements are not isolated: 'High in air he stood and then cast his bolt at Vṛtra; clothed in mist he attacked him and sharp was his weapon,' followed by the invocation, 'Cast down from the sky above, O Indra, the stone wherewith thou joying wilt burn the foe; for the getting of seed and many children and cows make us thy party' (2. 30. 3, 5; 6. 44. 18). Indra is the 'celestial giver of cows,' *divákṣas* (3. 30. 21), and it is probable that the (virtually identical) word *dyukṣá* is to be taken in the same sense in 5. 39. 2, 'Bring us, O Indra, whatever thou thinkest desirable in heaven' (alternative, 'brilliant'). Like the Maruts (above)

Indra is frequently described as the 'dancer' or dancing god (1. 130. 7; 2. 22. 4; etc.), who 'joys in the seat of the sun' and drinks Soma as soon as he is born, in the highest heaven (3. 32. 10; 34. 7; 51. 3 f.). A more than usually brilliant description of him, which accords ill with the interpretation that he is a giant of the mountains of earth, says that Indra 'is the dancing god who, clothed in perfumed garments, golden-cheeked rides on his golden car' (6. 29. 2 f.), as the Maruts are clothed (5. 55. 6) and otherwise appear in the same golden glory.

It is now time to make the application of these data. Professor Hillebrandt, whose thesis is that Indra's sphere of activity is diametrically opposed to that of the Maruts, the latter operating in summer and Indra in spring or when the winter begins to pass, has endeavored to offset the community of Indra and the Maruts by showing that some families do not invoke the Maruts and Indra together (as one group) so often as do other families. But this is no adequate explanation of the phenomena, which show that in all the points enumerated above the field of activity and process of accomplishment are identical. It is quite impossible to separate Indra and the Maruts as representing activities belonging to different times of the year. The only point which could be proved by the fact that one clan does not besing Indra and the Maruts conjointly (though there is no such clan) is that some clans have seen that the two divinities (Marut and Indra) are practically one in their performances and some have refused to see it or have refused to bend to the syncretistic tendency. As a matter of fact, no clan omits to conjoin them; only some clans join them more closely and speak of the union more often, either in action or at sacrifice. If, as Hillebrandt thinks, the Maruts are in origin Manes, there may have been good reason for the unwillingness of some and the willingness of others to associate Indra with them or them with Indra. More important than the relative frequency with which clans more or less adverse to the Indra-cult admitted him and the Maruts to a joint sacrifice is the fact that Indra's own home clan, the Kúśikas, fully endorse the intimacy. They who know him best, whose pet god Indra is, are the very ones who group the Maruts with him. Still more important is the fact that apart from clan-predilection the description of even the clans which do not favor this grouping shows (as explained above) that it is idle to sunder the Maruts as summer-gods from Indra as late-winter

or spring-god. Even the Bharadvājas, who Hillebrandt shows do not favor the sacrificial community of the two, speak several times of Indra as accompanied by the Maruts (6. 19. 11; 40. 5; 47. 5). They admit also that the Maruts strengthen Indra (6. 17. 11), and their identification of the *deva ratha* with Indra's bolt and the Maruts' van also connects them closely (6. 47. 28), especially in view of the fact that the 'Maruts' van' is elsewhere apparently identified with Indra's 'sharp weapon,' the bolt (8. 96. 9).

Similarly, the Vasiṣṭhas, though rarely uniting Indra and the Maruts, yet show full acquaintance with the fact that if one has 'Indra and the Maruts' as his helpers, he will become rich in cows (7. 32. 10), and they pray that the 'accompanying roar of the Maruts' shall encompass Indra as he comes with his lightning (7. 31. 8, *sahá dyúbhiḥ*; for the roar, cf. 2. 11. 7 f.). Even the Atris speak of Indra as the wise seer of the Maruts (5. 29. 1) and the Gr̥tsamadas at least group the Maruts with Indra and Vāyu as common benefactors (2. 11. 14). Evidently Indra, however apart or shared be his victory, is recognized everywhere as coming at the same time with the Maruts, whose 'friend' he is (8. 36. 2, as *apsujít*; cf. ib. 76. 1 f.). The *śárdho marútām* rejoice in Indra (ib. 15. 9), whether they fight with him or not, and the prevailing opinion of the Rig-Veda, no one opposing, is that they are his band, *gana*, that Indra gave them a share of Soma (3. 35. 9), and that all beings have bent before (*yemire*) Indra since the Marut clans have bent down (*niyemiré*) before him (8. 12. 29).² There is certainly not the slightest indication that they are active in different seasons, and since Hillebrandt admits that the Rudra-Maruts are summer-time gods, it follows that Indra is a god of the same season, even if the phenomena accompanying both, driving winds, rending lightning, loosening the waters and 'cows,' shaking the hills, and roaring 'music,' were not identical.

As Indra stands in the air, so he is represented as 'blowing the great snake (the dragon) out of the air' (atmosphere, *nír antárikṣāt*, 8. 3. 20) and as 'shooting from the sky' (10. 89. 12). Rain is his herd (10. 23. 4). The waters which he lets out come up 'from the south day after day, going without cessation to their goal,' and it is these monsoon-waters which

² Compare 8. 89. 2; 98. 3.

Indra collects and gives as his unceasing gift (6. 32. 5). His bolt is variously represented as a stone or a club of a hundred knots or an arrow or a spear or simply as a missile. It lightens, it burns, it smashes down, it gleams as a hot bolt—and yet the modern mythologist believes that it is ‘only a club’ and a club does not imply a bolt of lightning!³ As a clinching argument we are reminded that Mithra also carries a club and Jupiter with his bolt is not a rain-god! Surely ‘Zeus rains,’ and Jupiter Pluvialis, also Elicius (cf. *aquaelicium*), gives rain. As for Mithra, his own hymn says that he ‘makes the waters flow and the plants grow.’ Mithra too has a club with a hundred edges and with it he ‘smites the Daevas,’ while with his arrows he lets out water. So Mithra and Jupiter both show what a club as a bolt may do.⁴

Before Fire became a mere sacrificial horse, burdened with a load of offerings, he was an avorter of demons, a function still retained in the Rig-Veda: ‘Burn, O Agni, all the demons; protect us from the curse’ (1. 76. 3). In the same way Indra is ‘begotten as demon-slayer’; he smites the demons or burns them with his missile (1. 129. 11; 6. 18. 10, *heti*), as he burns the foe or ‘burns down on high the *dasyus* out of heaven’ (6. 22. 8; 1. 33. 4, 7), so that he appears to be lightning itself (*divyēvāśānir jahi*, 1. 176. 3). Of course, Indra is not lightning, but when he is asked to ‘burn demons as fire burns wood’ (6. 18. 10), there is no doubt that the poet is right in saying that he is like lightning. The use of stone and metal as synonymous with missile and arrow seems to bar out the suggestion that Indra’s normal weapon might be burning sun-beams, though he may employ them (8. 12. 9)⁵ when he becomes so great

³ *aśānim tāpisthām* . . . *tāpusim hetim* (3. 30. 16 f.); *śārvā* (2. 12. 10); *tanyatām = vājram* (1. 52. 6); *aśānim* (1. 54. 4); ‘thou who begottest gleaming lightnings from the sky,’ *didyāto divāh*, (2. 13. 7), etc., etc. Compare 1. 52. 15, the edged club, *bhr̥ṣṭimātā vadhēna*; of metal (1. 80. 12); *sr̥kāṁ pavīm* (10. 180. 2).

⁴ When Tibullus says *arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi* (1. 7), he means that in Italy the dry vegetation begs Jupiter for rain. Apropos of this, Pausanias says that there was an (Attic) ‘statue of Earth beseeching Zeus to rain.’

⁵ In the same hymn (8. 12. 30) Indra is said to ‘hold the sun in the sky,’ which opposes the idea that the poet regards him as one with the sun. In 10. 171. 4, Indra even transports the sun across the sky. Yet the

that he is regarded as like Agni or the sun, or even as begetting the sun. In 1. 133, a priest is employed in 'burning away' the various 'un-Indra demons' and invokes Indra as 'stone-holder' to 'smash' them, obviously not with sun-beams but with that bolt, 'like a sharp knife,' with which 'as with an axe' he breaks down trees (1. 130. 4; cf. 10. 73. 8, 'upturns the trees').

Indra indubitably lets out rivers, but this is no argument against his letting out rain. Varuṇa also 'goes over earth' (10. 75. 2) when he 'lets out the rivers.' Varuṇa too 'let out the floods of rivers' (7. 87. 1), though he and Mitra also let out rain (5. 63. 1 f.). When therefore Indra is said to let out rivers and to dig a path for them (10. 89. 7, etc.), it no more implies that he is not a giver of rain also than, when Varuṇa is said to let out rivers, this god by implication is restricted to river-freeing. Indra's strength is collected 'in the sky' (1. 80. 13) and his 'metal stone' (bolt) is hurled 'from the sky' (1. 121. 9).

That food is implicit in the rain and sap appears to be the case from the way in which the 'swelling of the sap' is connected with invocation for food. Thus Indra is besought to 'make visible the sun, penetrate to the cows (or food-strength) and (at this time) to make the sap swell' (6. 17. 2-3; cf. 8. 103. 5 and 10. 74. 4, of worshipers who wish to pierce to the cows or cow-stall). The swelling is obviously of the cloud-sap when it is said that the bull of the Aśvins, the cloud (*megha*), swelled (1. 181. 8) and apparently of Indra's waters when the god is represented as rushing like the wind, and the (his) waters swell and he is then described as 'the only one among the gods who divides with mortals' (*dayase*, 7. 23. 4-5; cf. 10. 147. 5, as 'distributor'). So Indra is 'distributor of food, lord of people, king of the world' (6. 36. 1-4). The full expression 'let swell the sap' is peculiarly Indra's (1. 63. 8), 'let the sundry kinds of strength-giving sap swell like water' (perhaps, with Ludwig, of earthly food); so of Indra or of his Maruts is used the phrase

explanation of 8. 12. 9, though it is here said that he has grown great when he burns with the sun's rays, may be that Indra operates in general with the sun's rays on the principle of the śruti given by Sāyaṇa at 7. 36. 1: 'Parjanya rains with the sun's rays' (see below). For Indra as one with the sun, compare 4. 23. 6 and 8. 93. 4. Such cases appear to belong to the later not to the earlier part of the Rīg-Veda, new creations, not remnants of an older belief, as they should be, were Indra first the sun.

dhukṣāsva pipyūṣim iṣam (8. 13. 25); *iṣam jaritré nadyò ná pīpeḥ* (Indra, 4. 16. 21; cf. 6. 35. 4); of Maruts, *dhukṣānta pipyūṣim iṣam*, 'milk out the rich sap' (8. 7. 3).^a

Indra in 1. 57. 6 shatters the 'great rock' when he lets out the waters, and in 6. 17. 5 he moves from its place the 'great rock which surrounds the cows.' In this parallel, not to speak of the neighboring 1. 56. 6, in which Indra rends apart the *pāṣyā* of *Vṛtra* (which, *pace* Oldenberg, seems to be stone-work), the cows appear to be the waters for which men long to break open 'the stall full of cows' (10. 74. 4; but cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 55. 316 f.). At any rate, we have here an example of the interpretation of Indra as still a physical phenomenon operating with metaphorical cows as contrasted with a spiritual victor-god who, as in the 'cow-getting' of 10. 38. 1, is virtually a god of battles assisting a cow-raider (cf. *goṣuyúdh*) to carry off his neighbor's cattle. That 'cows' always are bossies in the Rīg-Veda is impossible. In whatever way such remarks as that above concerning Indra's activity in removing the rock round the cows may be interpreted, the cows are not domestic cattle, as they are when a real cow-stall is mentioned (1. 191. 4, etc.). In 5. 30. 4, for example, the cows found by Indra are not cattle and the rock he rends is probably the same rock as that above, or that of ib. 45. 1. In the light of the constant statement that the dragon encompasses *waters*, how can the expression, 'I am Indra; I brought out *cows* from the dragon' (10. 48. 2) be set aside in favor of the literal interpretation?

Through persistent weakening of the original meaning the translators of Vedic passages ignore some significant words in connection with Indra. The etymology of *megha*, 'cloud,' as water-giver is known to be from *mīh* ('mingo'; cf. *mīhé* above). The verb in its later form *mīh* is common enough, but in its older form, and thereby conserving its earlier meaning of letting out water, it is used only of the raining-down Maruts and of raining-down Indra (*nimégamāna*, 'day by day as thou pourest down rain thou assumest strength,' 8. 4. 10; of the Maruts, 2. 34. 13, 'raining down with power'). The weaker root appears in

^a In 2. 27. 14 f., following an invocation to Indra it is said: 'for him two worlds swell the rain from heaven . . . both worlds he goes conquering.' On account of 5. 37. 4, it is doubtful what the original construction and reference may have been (Ludwig omits 'Indra').

the standing sense of 'spending,' and so 'generous,' 'merciful,' and in this weaker sense applies to sundry gods. Again it is significant that the word *mehánā*, translated 'in a stream' and so 'abundantly,' may really be taken literally, 'with rain.' So 5. 38. 3, Indra's powers (Maruts?) 'follow his wish with rain'; ib. 39. 1, 'give us the two hands full of that blessing which you bestow with rain' (i. e. in streams). The gift or blessing here can be no other blessing than that usually expected of Indra. In 8. 63. 12, the companions of Indra, the Rudras, are said to be present with rain, *mehánā*. Only in the *dānastuti* of 8. 4. 21 is it probable that the weaker sense, 'abundantly,' is to be accepted. Indra is *mehánāvat* in 3. 49. 3, 'der reichlich regen strömende,' as Ludwig rightly translates (PW. 'reichlich spendend'; 2. 24. 10, of Brhaspati, the priestly form of Indra). It is at least curious that, if the word is rightly rendered only in its secondary sense of 'giving freely,' it should be confined, among all the freely giving gods, to Indra and his associates.

A word here also regarding another derivative of this root, *mih*, 'rain' or 'mist.' When the Maruts in 8. 7. 4-5, are said to make the mountain and the rivers bow to their power, they 'cast rain and make the hills totter,' *vāpanti Marúto mīham, prá vepayanti párvatān*. When Indra attacks his foe he is said to 'cast forth dark *mīhaḥ* and darkness' (10. 73. 5). Veiled in *mīh* Indra attacks Vṛtra (2. 30. 3). The same use occurs in 1. 79. 2, *pātanti mīhaḥ*, perhaps 'rains fall, clouds thunder' ('es flogen die dunstmassen,' Ludwig). The Maruts may make mist (*mīham kṛṇvanti*, 1. 38. 7, 'windless' in this instance). Sāyana, probably correctly, interprets 'the child of *mīh*, long and broad, the Maruts urge forth' as rain (1. 37. 11). The verb used here is that employed to indicate the urging or stirring forth of Indra himself when metaphorically called the 'treasure' and to indicate the activity of the Maruts in sending out the treasure of the sky, or rain (5. 53. 6; 83. 8; 10. 42. 2). The same phrase used of Indra's activity, *kóśam acucyavīt* (8. 72. 8), especially as filled out with *diváh*, means that Indra has sent rain from the sky (poured out the treasure-pot).

Indra's 'fiery rain' (or mist) may be dangerous and so it is not strange when a hymnist begs to be kept safe from it (3. 31. 20). Here we come to the explanation of what has puzzled the commentators, how Indra can be said to slay the serpentine (undulating) demon Arbuda with coolness, *hiména*. The foes

of Indra include not only the dragon or great snake Vṛtra, but also Śuṣṇa and Arbuda. The former is called a child of the mist, as Vṛtra is veiled in mist as well as Indra (1. 32. 13; 5. 32. 4) and as his regular epithet is *aśúṣa*, 'devouring,' Śuṣṇa is most reasonably interpreted (*pace* the euhemerists) as devouring drought. Another epithet, *kúyava*, 'bad harvest' (barley), the meaning of which is tolerably certain from its use in VS. 18. 10 f., is an appellation of Śuṣṇa or at times an independent personality. Indra 'tears the encircling well-knotted power of the drought-demon (Śuṣṇa) from the sky' (*divás pári*, 1. 121. 10), after the demon had left the people no food (caused a famine) and so slays him, the great demon, Druh, as he is expressly called, or, as elsewhere stated, the 'not human' adversary (6. 20. 4 f.; cf. 4. 28. 2 and 10. 22. 7, 14), as Indra slays all who are born of him. Another passage says expressly that Indra 'made flow the springs restrained by the season through killing Śuṣṇa, the child of mist' (5. 32. 2 f.). That Indra is said to have killed this demon for the sake of his devotee Kutsa Ārjuneya is on a par with the fact that he slays the eclipse-demon for the sake of his devotee Atri. Śuṣṇa's 'fortress' is the same 'movable city,' *púram carīṣṇvām . . sám pinak* (8. 1. 28), which the later Hindus ascribe to the Gandharvas. In some passages Śuṣṇa even exchanges with Vṛtra.⁷ There can be as little doubt in regard to the demoniac nature of one as of the other. What we learn from Śuṣṇa is that Indra's foe is not only the demon that restrains the water but also drought itself. Now drought or dryness (as *śúṣṇa* is) is slain rather by rain than by lightning. Lightning may pierce the cloud and split it, so that it disgorges water, but the water itself destroys the dryness, though the processes are not always distinguished. But the fact that what is cool and wet may be used or spoken of as a weapon is of importance because it explains how Indra 'wounds Arbuda with coolness' (8. 32. 26, *himénā 'vidhyad Ārbudam*). Hillebrandt's interpretation, 'in the winter,' is a desperate attempt

⁷ Compare Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 3, p. 290. *Kúyava* as epithet of Śuṣṇa may become a separate demon by a well-established mythological tendency. The human aspect given to *Kúyava* in 1. 104 is quite illusive. His two wives 'bathe in milk' while the devout mortal cannot even get water and is hungry. The mortal prays that the wives of the demon may be destroyed in the depth of his local river, that is, that Indra may send water enough to drown the demon crew.

to annul the absurdity of a sun-god killing with cold weather. But the use of *hiména* elsewhere shows that it is not winter but coolness. The Ásvins regularly employ this means to alleviate the extreme heat, *gharmá*, with which Atri was encompassed (e. g. 8. 73. 3). Consequently Indra may well be said to destroy with the coolness of the mist and darkness and rain (above) of his approach the serpent of drought and dryness.⁸

But we are not left to induction in regard to the Vedic view of Indra. One would think from the utterances of those who, like Gruppe, knowing the less of the subject, are the more forward in expressing their opinion, that it was actually open to question whether Indra to the Vedic poets themselves was a deity who gave rain. Even Bergaigne, who, despite his bias, knew his Rig-Veda, adjudges worthy of only a negligent note the important passage in 4. 26. 2, because forsooth not Indra but a poet is speaking (Bergaigne 2. 185). Yet here we have an impersonator who poses so palpably as Indra that all the rest of the description but echoes Vedic expressions: 'I gave the earth to the Aryan; I (gave) rain to the devout mortal; I fetched the sounding waters; the gods followed my will; with joy I split apart the nine and ninety forts of Śambara.' Very emphatic this *ahám*, no other than I (Indra) gave rain. Compare (above), Indra 'extends the rain abroad as from the sky,' *vr̥ṣtīm pratháyan* (8. 12. 6).⁹ Indra is not, like Parjanya, personified rain-cloud; he gives rain, Parjanya is rain. The Maruts rain also, as servants or companions of Indra, or independently, themselves pouring down rain. He who is a general fertility-dæmon gives rain as one of his functions.

⁸ The undulations of intense heat actually appear visible in the air. Arbuda is *arṇavá*, 'billowy.' Indra stamps on him and cuts off his head in other passages (*arbuda* = *arbudá*; 1. 51. 6; 10. 67. 12). There is no one manner of slaying demons. Even Vṛtra, who swallows the waters, is represented as swallowed by Indra, perhaps when the demon is 'asleep' (3. 45. 2; 4. 17. 1; 19. 3; 10. 111. 9). Vṛtra like Indra is so huge that he embraces heaven and earth (8. 6. 16 f.). The foes of Indra use his own weapons occasionally (e. g. 1. 80. 12 f.).

⁹ Śambara's overthrow is invariably attributed to Indra, who slays him in the fortieth autumn in the mountains, as also Indra disperses Rāuhina with his bolt as he climbs the sky and the mountains fear his power (2. 12. 11 f.), here as 'the bull of seven rays,' an epithet that has worked back to him from the 'lord of power' (4. 50. 4) conception, originally Agni's.

Indra is a growing god in the Rig-Veda. Belonging originally to the Kuśika and Gotama clans,¹⁰ he was rather reluctantly accepted by others, but chiefly as by the Bharadvājas as a battle-god. He is not a giant of the mountains, as represented by some scholars, but a cosmic giant, whose greatness surpasses the sky-greatness of Varuṇa, the favorite inherited god of the Vasiṣṭhas. He not only encompasses Varuṇa as sky, but embraces earth and sky and stretches beyond (1. 61. 9; 6. 30. 1 f.), the first crude conception of an all-god expressed materialistically as an all-embracing god, whose rule or will (as declared in the verse above) the gods follow, or, as said elsewhere, even Varuṇa and the sun follow (1. 101. 3).¹¹ The 'fist of Indra' is a term applied to a drum, obviously because its sound resembles Indra's thunder, not because it indicates size. It is used to frighten away demons (6. 47. 30).

In these different aspects of fertility Indra as giver of rain comes nearest to the Maruts and Parjanya ('like rainfull Parjanya,' 8. 6. 1). He thunders, gives rain, casts the dragon from the air, sends a sharp and gleaming bolt to earth. His waters are heavenly, and as such they are seven, or nine and ninety streams, which are let loose not only for man's sake but for the gods (10. 104. 8). At the same time he indubitably lets out the streams of earth from the mountain, as no mere sun-god does. His relation to Soma is not merely that of the god drinking an intoxicant which rouses his strength. The Soma-drops pouring through the sieve are utilized by a kind of sympathetic magic to induce Indra to rain: 'Enter into thy friend (Indra), O Soma, and let rain come from the sky' (9. 8. 7). Indra and Soma are thus identified,¹² as (9. 5. 9) Indra is identified with the lord of progeny and the creative Tvaṣṭṛ, who like Indra creates all things and gives children (2. 3. 9; 3. 55. 19).

As giver of rain 'from the sky' Indra is united with Pūṣan, the god of fertility and general prosperity, who, like other Vedic

¹⁰ 1. 10. 11; 3. 30. 20; 42. 9; 50. 4; 4. 32. 9. Compare 10. 43. 6, (Indra) 'embraced one clan after another.'

¹¹ For Indra's size compare e. g. 1. 52. 14. In 3. 32. 11 and 8. 4. 8 f., Indra is so great that he covers earth with one hip, perhaps thought of here as a god enveloping earth with rain, after his angry or raging form has passed: 'his gift no longer rages' (*nā dānō asya roṣati*); in the following verse (10) he is *nīmégghamānah*, 'raining down.'

¹² In 6. 39. 3 the poet gives Soma the credit for Indra's acts.

gods, has been interpreted as sun and as moon with equal success. But a more intimate relationship than that of rain-giver (3. 57. 2) is revealed in that aspect of Indra which arrests the attention in the ritual and in the Rig-Veda alike. It will be remembered that in later literature Indra is the husband, *pati*, of the furrow, *Sitā*, or of the fallow field, *urvarā-pati*, and as such (as god of fertility) receives most of the homage of later times. But in the Rig-Veda also Indra is *urvarāpati* (lord or husband of the fallow field). He wins tilth, is lord of tilth, as he is lord of cattle (2. 21. 1; 6. 20. 1; 8. 21. 3). And as such he is begged to 'sink the furrow,' as Pūṣan guides it (4. 57. 7). No other Vedic god is so intimately connected with this form of fertility. Indra is lord of plants and of grain as he lightens from the sky, *didyūto divāh*, and extends the streams. He lets out the tender shoots; spreads blossoms over the fields; he bestows plants and trees (2. 13. 7; 3. 34. 10); he lets the trees grow (10. 138. 2). For this reason more than for his prowess against foes he is said to be the god who distributes 'enjoyments and growths'; he extracts 'dry sweet from wet'; he lays his treasure in the sun (compare the waters in the sun, 1. 23. 17) and as master of life is called the only owner of all (2. 13. 6). The treasure laid in the sun must be the treasure of the sky, which, as shown above, is Indra's rain. It is the idea familiar to the epic writers. Indra sends down rain; it is drawn up by the sun and kept as a treasure in the sky from circa October till June and then Indra pours it down again for four months. It is the Maruts who 'bring the seed-corn' (5. 53. 13). According to 1. 52. 9, the 'man-helping Maruts' go with Indra, though they belong also to another fertilizer, Viṣṇu (5. 87. 8; 8. 20. 3), who is 'the guardian of the seed' (embryo, 7. 36. 9), and 'they give strength to beget.'

Indra's food, though eventually the Soma, which he drinks at first once a day, then thrice, as his power grows, was clearly in the first instance a more bucolic diet of grain. The completed ritual pours him full of intoxicants, though even then he is 'like a granary (filled) with barley' (2. 14. 11); but the Soma, which he is expressly said to have stolen, is always mixed with milk or (and) barley, while occasionally his food is honey, the 'sweet of bees,' and milk (2. 22. 1; 3. 42. 7; 8. 4. 8). Moreover, although the official explanation says that corn is presented to him 'for his horses,' he himself (3. 35. 3) eats corn

every day (1. 16. 2). As the companion of the Rbhus and Maruts, *ságaṇo Marúdbhiḥ*, and of Pūṣan, the god of bucolic prosperity (fertility), whose laud is united with his own, Indra receives a kind of mush, as well as cakes and corn (3. 52. 3; 4. 32. 16).¹³ In 8. 91. 2 (like 3. 52. 1), a girl desiring maturity propitiates Indra with mush and corn-cake and drink. This mixture of corn probably preceded the Soma-drink of which Indra gradually assumed ownership, extending his share from the mid-day feast to the other two, till 'his became all Somas' (4. 17. 6; more insistently, 'thine are all the Somas, first and last,' 3. 36. 3). The corn-brew is Indra's (3. 43. 4) and his only, except as his companions share. As god of fertility also he is the giver of food and of strength, a veritable 'Bhaga for giving' (Vāl. 6. 5; 3. 36. 5; 3. 49. 3). He won the fields (above) and also won for himself the plants and trees (3. 34. 10), albeit as incidental to winning the 'heavenly waters' and earth and sky, the cow 'much nourishing,' an epithet used by implication of Indra himself (*īndraṃ navāmahe . . . giriṃ nā purubhójasam*, 'we praise Indra—like a much-nourishing hill,' 8. 88. 2, that is, on account of its streams, ib. 49. 2). The 'nourishment' coming from Indra is revealed clearly enough, if playfully, in the punning ode, 3. 44. 3, where *hari*, 'yellow and green,' is applied to all Indra's phenomena including heaven and earth,¹⁴ and the god is said to go between heaven and earth and hold the nourishment of heaven and of earth. For earth also 'brings him much wealth, and the sky and the plants and the trees and waters guard wealth for him'

¹³ In 8. 17. 12, *akhaṇḍala, śācigu, śācipūjana, śāci*, according to VS. 23. 8, would be groats (cf. *puṣṭigu*, as name). Indra also eats oxen and buffaloes (5. 29. 7; 8. 12. 8, etc.), not to speak of dogs and wolves (4. 18. 13; 10. 73. 3; for 'many are the foods of the rite,' 4. 23. 8). Viṣṇu is sent off like a servant and fetches to Indra, apparently as food, a boar and a cake and a hundred buffaloes (8. 77. 10). With Viṣṇu Indra enjoys the barley-mixture (2. 22. 1; cf. 6. 17. 11; 8. 3. 7). Indra drinks also with Pūṣan and his wife (1. 82. 6) and is apparently identified with Pūṣan (8. 4. 15). He represents Varuṇa and Pūṣan (1. 6. 24. 5): 'Indra performs this to-day and that to-morrow; he realizes the non-existent; he is here the overpower of hostile wishes, Mitra to us, Varuṇa, Pūṣan.'

¹⁴ Hence a certain resemblance of Indra and the Sun, both of whom are 'yellow-haired.' So Indra's yellow steeds are, *quā* yellow, 'two banners of the sun' (2. 11. 6).

(3. 51. 5), so that he is entreated to shake down this saving wealth for the worshiper (3. 45. 4). He makes his worshiper wealthy because he is a god who, 'shattering, like Dyaus with the thunderbolt,' gives his gift of life-strength (4. 17. 13, 18), or, as expressed elsewhere, gives virility to him who roasts corn for the god as well as presses Soma or cooks for him (4. 24. 7; cf. 5). So repeatedly Indra is said to be the sole master of strength and as such is begged to give much sap, strength as food (4. 32. 7).

But the varied benefits bestowed by Indra and the Maruts alike are not confined to rain. As we saw above, the Maruts are invoked with the prayer 'May we live long and prosper in children and posterity,' *tokám puṣyema tánayaṃ śatām hīmāh* (1. 64. 14). So Indra is invoked (1. 100. 11 = 6. 44. 18; cf. 6. 18. 6 and 19. 12) for 'children, cows, and water.' To these, as in the last passage, is added 'land,' or more particularly 'fallow fields' (cf. 6. 25. 4); since the Bharadvājas accept Indra more as a war-lord and their petition is extended to all that they desire, even including a place in the sun, as in 6. 31. 1, where the usual cows of this formula are replaced by 'sun.'¹⁵ In sundry variations the *toké tánaye* formula is usually employed in connection with Indra, though not confined to him. But it is interesting to see that another rain-god, Varuṇa, is invoked for the same purpose, withal together with Indra, 'for children and fields' (and 'the sight of the sun,' 4. 41. 6); but especially does the hymn to them ask 'help to children' (*toké tánaye*, 7. 84. 5). Other gods who are asked for children are begged to send the impulse (Savitr, 4. 53. 7; 5. 82. 4) or to 'rouse' or 'impel' a man to the getting of fields and children (e. g. the Aśvins, 1. 112. 22; Brhaspati, 2. 23. 9); but the particular prayer for water, children, cows, and fields is addressed only to Indra or to Indra's inspiring Soma (9. 91. 6); as the finding of cows, horses, plants, water, and trees is attributed to Indra alone (1. 103. 5; cf. 6. 39. 5). 'Earth and water he got for man' (2. 20. 7); 'he won the field, the sun, the waters,' when he slew the enemy with his arrow (1. 100. 18).

¹⁵ The verse with its striking *carṣanāyo vívācaḥ* is virtually repeated in 6. 33. 2, with *śūrasātāu* for *śūre*. The temptation to read *śūre*, for *śūre*, is met, however, by 1. 104. 6, where Indra is begged for a 'share of water and sun' (ib. 7, 'give strength and life to us who are hungry').

In all this there is a mixture of the earlier and persistent element, Indra as god of fertility, and the secondary, Indra as Mars. He causes the production of children and he wins fields and wealth as victor in battle, the leader, path-maker, *gópāti*, lord of cows, who even guards the cows from the missile, *heti*, of Rudra (6. 21. 12, *pathikṛt*; 6. 28. 3, 5, where the cows are even identified with Indra by a poet who says that his pecunia is his god). He guards from Rudra because he now governs the Rudriyas (identified with the Maruts, 3. 32. 2; 35. 9) and they are 'like his own sons' (1. 100. 5). The thought is that when Indra lets out water he 'sends forth life and food' (as strength and sustenance, *iṣ*). He thus becomes lord of life and gradually sends, in his worshipers' opinion, not only sustenance but all good things. As contrasted with Agni, the latter is more the guardian of children and of cows (*tokāśya tānaye gāvām*, 1. 31. 12), fire as deterrent to demons, wild beasts, etc. But also, as heat, Agni, for obvious reasons, is said to set the embryo in all beings, vegetable and animal (10. 183. 3), while Indra grants 'the luck of progeny' (3. 30. 18) as a concomitant of his gift of food and virile power (8. 6. 23). Thus Indra and Varuna together are besought for 'progeny and prosperity' (Val. 11. 7). Yet of Indra also is it said, 'thou didst set the liquid in cows and plants' (10. 73. 9, *pāyo gōṣv ādadhā ṣadhiṣu*), the liquid being both milk and rain (sent by the Maruts, 5. 63. 5; cf. 4. 57. 5, *yād divi pāyah*, 'sky-liquid,' rain). The fear of the poet is poverty. He cries to Agni, 'Deliver us not to poverty, nor to lack of heroes and cows,' invoking the Maruts, however, at the same time (3. 16. 5; cf. 2). Substantially the same prayer (7. 1. 19) adds 'hunger' and 'poor clothes,' to explain the concept of *āmati* (poverty); while two other prayers to the same god entreat him to keep away poverty, oppression, and ill-will (*āmati*, *durmatī*) and conjoin poverty on the part of the poet with 'curse' and evil (4. 11. 6; 8. 19. 26). Destruction and poverty, opposed to 'wealth,' are also deprecated in a prayer to the sacred tree (of sacrifice, 3. 8. 2) and in one to the press-stones (10. 76. 4), and the Ādityas in general are besought (8. 18. 11) to keep off 'the arrow, and poverty and hatred.' A prayer to Agni and Indra together begs the two gods to save from evil, the curse, and blame, and to give wealth of horses, cows, and gold (7. 94. 3, 9). Wealth of children, men, horses, and food is also besought of the Dawns (7. 75. 8); but these

sporadic prayers, in part offered by those not inclined to the Indra-cult, are few in comparison with the prayers offered to Indra to save from poverty, sometimes united with hunger (10. 42. 10, 'may we escape poverty through cows and hunger through barley'; cf. 1. 53. 5, 'keep off poverty through cows and horse-hold, having food, *is*, O Indra').¹⁶ 'Be merciful, like a father, O Indra, for poverty, nakedness, exhaustion oppress me,' cries another poet (10. 33. 2). How this poverty is to be relieved is explained in 5. 36. 3: 'My mind fears poverty . . (5) may the sky, *vr̥ṣā*, increase thee, *vr̥ṣanam*; as such a *vr̥ṣā*, O thou of *vr̥ṣa*-power, O thou who holdest the bolt, hold us in the foray.' Here the virility of power interchanges with the more literal meaning. It is as fructifying power that Dyaus aids fructifying Indra. The curse so often alluded to in connection with the god is the curse of poverty and hunger, from which Indra frees men and the gentle *Aśvins* free a woman (10. 39. 6). Compare the allusion to the actual famine existing at the time the poet of 8. 66. 14 cries to Indra, 'Free us from this present poverty and hunger,' adding 'and (this) curse.' This is clearly the curse already referred to in 10. 104. 9, where Indra frees the water from the curse by letting out the streams (cf. 8. 89. 2). In the hymn referred to above (8. 91. 5) Indra is begged to induce fertility in field and woman both; he makes all things grow, even hair; he ripens the girl and makes the fallow field, *urvārā*, blossom forth. He extracts the swelling sap for the people; in him, in fact, 'is the life of the people' (8. 54. 7).

Hence the festival of Indra (which appears to be a public rejoicing wherein even little children take part, and Indra himself appears as a child) with the invocation, 'Sing, O ye children; let harp and lute and *piṅgā* sound loudly; ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott' (*pūram nā dhr̥ṣṇv ārcata*, 8. 69. 8; cf. 8. 80. 7)¹⁷—this festival is probably that of a god of fertility, not that of a war-god. It certainly is not as a war-god but as a god of fertility that Indra is addressed by the worshiper in 8. 78. 10: 'In hope of thee (Indra) I take in hand the sickle; with a handful of barley fill thou me.' His associates, the *Aśvins*,

¹⁶ In 10. 43. 3, 'Indra is averse from poverty and hunger.'

¹⁷ So Indra is called 'a hill broad on all sides, lord of the sky' (8. 98. 4). He is represented as in the sky, in the seat of the gods, lord of the sky (8. 13. 2, 8); cf. *padām yād divi* (8. 13. 29). The *Kaṇvas* extol him thus especially (cf. his *kṣāyo divi*, 8. 64. 4, and cf. 69. 7).

'sow the barley and extract sap' (sustenance, 1. 117. 21). Again, they 'plough barley,' but this is 'the old barley in the sky' (8. 22. 6, *pūrvyāṇi divi yāvam*). But it is Indra who 'gives the barley' (as well as cows and horses, 1. 16. 9; 53. 2, *duró yāvasya vāsuna inās pātih*), as harvester.

Not less important is the converse fact, that with the exception of Soma, who merely induces Indra to act, no other god is mentioned as giving barley at all. Thus in 9. 69. 8 and 55. 1, Soma is begged to 'stream barley-barley' and give gold, horse, cow, barley, and heroes to the worshiper. On the other hand, Indra gives horse, cattle, and barley, or plenty of barley and cattle in four passages; and nowhere else does any god do likewise.¹⁸

The generalized translation of virility as strength tends to shade down the aspect of Indra as giver of fertility to man. He is, so to speak, the seed-god in every respect, *divó ná yāsya rétaso dúghānāḥ pānthāsah . . marútān indrah* (1. 100. 1-3; *vīryēṇa sámokāḥ*, 6. 18. 7), the bull with bull-strength, whose paths exude, as it were, the seed of the sky. When he roused the sleeping dragon, wives and the birds (Maruts? so S.) rejoiced (1. 103. 7). Indra, here explicitly as 'heavenly ruler,' *divyāḥ śāsāḥ* (cf. 6. 37. 2), is invoked to bestow 'all the brilliant virile powers of men' that the worshipers may rejoice with that mad rejoicing 'whereby we may be reckoned victorious in getting children' (6. 19. 6 f., 11; cf. 3. 47. 5). But despite the literal meaning of the words, it may be doubtful whether the bull-power is meant in just this sense. In other cases, however, there is hardly a doubt that Indra is appealed to as a productive begetting power. Thus in 3. 30. 18: 'Luck in children, O Indra, be with us.' So in 5. 31. 2, Indra gives wives to those who have none. And in a following hymn, 5. 37. 3: '(May his car come);

¹⁸ 'Barley and cattle' in 10. 42. 7 is repeated ib. 10, 'may we stifle our hunger with barley.' The list 'horses, cows, and barley' (begged of Indra in 8. 93. 3) follows the order of 1. 53. 2, and may reflect the historical gradation of petition, as barley is not begged for at all in the family-books. Probably it follows cattle as object of petition, Indra's spirit of fertility being employed first for live-stock, agriculture being more a haphazard matter. Whether *yāva* is really barley, or best translated more generally as corn, makes no great difference. It seems to be grain even in the word *yāvasa*, in which cows rejoice, and later it is unquestionably barley. When *yāva* is mentioned in the family-books it is only by way of a simile. It is a specific form of the general 'corn' already spoken of as alternative to barley in Indra's corn-cake.

here a woman seeks a husband who wants to carry off a strong wife.' In 2. 16. 8, 'May we with thy good-will like bulls unite with our wives' is doubtful (perhaps, 'may we come to thy good-will, as bulls unite with their wives'). Indra is here the ever-youthful god 'without whom is nothing, in whom all virile power is collected' (ib. 1). It is apparently in the capacity of a virile bull that the poet speaks of Indra at 6. 28. 8 (*upapārcanam*): *ūpa* (*prcyatām*) *ṛṣabhāsya rétasī*, *ūpe 'ndra táva vīryē* (in 5, the cows appear as incorporate Bhaga and Indra; cf. AV. 9. 4. 23); the impregnating bull is a form of Indra. As such a god perhaps he is described as having a thousand testicles (6. 46. 3) when invoked as god of strength (cf. 10. 102. 4). Yet as the weaker or generalized meaning applies also to Agni (8. 19. 32), it may so limit Indra also, even if originally intended in a more pregnant sense. Only Indra can make a barren cow give milk (4. 19. 7).

There are various indications that Indra is a more intimate god than would be a war-god or general god of rain-giving and storm. He has a peculiar interest in the welfare of the children of unmarried girls, an interest more particular than that which gives him the Marutic reputation of healer.¹⁹ He is the 'house-friend,' *dāmūnas*, but this title is applied to Savitṛ also as energizing god, as well as to Agni, and presents him rather as friend because he 'let the shining waters flow' (3. 31. 16).²⁰ Yet in both capacities, as domestic aider and as particularly interested in girls not yet married he appears in the form of the 'little man' invoked by Apālā, who chews Soma-plant and prepares grain for him that he may make her fruitful (8. 91). Indra is especially the god who wanders about 'in many forms,' the well-known characteristic of all fertility-gods (6. 47. 18), and one shared by Agni and Rudra (*puruvārpas* only of Indra, 10. 120. 6), but only Indra makes use of it to further his love-affairs, as he alone of Vedic gods is tempted by a beautiful wife (3. 53. 6). This is the traditional interpretation of his form as a ram, and

¹⁹ In 2. 15. 7, he finds the girls' offspring hidden away (4. 19. 9, etc.). As a healer of the lame and blind he appears in 2. 13. 11; 15. 7, etc., especially as healer of hurts, wrenches, etc., *vīhrutam*, the same word as is used of the Maruts, 8. 1. 12, *ṣkartā vīhrutam pūnaḥ*; 8. 20. 26, of the Maruts, who bring all healing medicines from waters and mountains (25).

²⁰ 'He stands in the houses' (10. 73. 10) appears to be said of Indra, who 'alone knows his origin' (also like the Maruts, 7. 56. 2).

there is no reason to doubt that Indra's reputation as a gay Lothario was not established long before the Brahmanic explanation of his amours. His wife is the most lascivious of women, and he is a fit mate for her (10. 86). In the wedding verses it is he who gives many children (10. 85. 25, 45). The obscene allusion in 8. 1. 34 is fittingly added to an Indra hymn (cf. 8. 2. 42). In ŚB. 3. 3. 4. 18, Indra is invoked as 'ram of Medhati-thi, wife of Vṛṣanaśva, lover of Ahalyā.' Indra as ram is besung by the priests (1. 51. 1; 8. 97. 12) and comes to Medhyātithi as ram (8. 2. 40), while the Vṛṣanaśva story is recognized in the same circle (1. 51. 13). Ahalyā was wife of Kauśika or Gautama, the special worshiper of Indra, who is called Gautama (ŚB. ib. 19). She is explicable best as an anthropomorphized form like Sītā, *halya* meaning the land fit for plowing and *ahalyā* the as yet unplowed land. Compare *dvi-halya* = *dvi-sitya*. It is worth noting also that the later 'wonder-cow' is clearly the earth in the Rig-Veda (as was to be expected) and that she is a possession of Indra (7. 27. 4; cf. 10. 133. 7). Besides being a ram, Indra, who is usually a bull (e. g. 1. 55. 4; bull and lord in 1. 9. 4), is likened to a goat with its foot as he reaches goods to his worshiper with his long hook (8. 17. 10; 10. 134. 6). Food and children are his constant gifts (8. 6. 23 and above). Gold (4. 32. 19) and treasure-trove seem to be later additions to his store of gifts (8. 32. 9; 66. 4; 10. 48. 4). In the conception of him as a storm-god sharpening his weapon against the foe, Indra is also like a 'fearful wild beast of the mountain,' words employed as well to describe Viṣṇu (1. 154. 2; 10. 180. 2).²¹

²¹ The phrase *urū krāmīṣṭa jīvāse* also is used of Indra as well as of Viṣṇu (1. 155. 4; 8. 63. 9, 12). Apropos of the suggested derivation of Viṣṇu from *sānu*, as if the word meant 'through the mountain ridges,' it should be remembered that *vīṣṇu* is a perfectly ordinary formation, like *jīṣṇu* in RV., *danṣṇu* in VS., *bhūṣṇu* in AB., *sthāṣṇu* in the epic, and similar formations, *deṣṇu*, *giṣṇu*, common to all the literature. The accent is no more irregular than in *Dānu*. These forms are not all accented alike, and a proper name is always apt to make a shift (*arbudā*, *Arbuda*). Like *jēṣi jīṣṇo hitām dhānam* (6. 45. 15) we may imagine a *vēṣi Viṣṇo* more easily than the abnormal formation of *vī* with a quasi-object. The *vi-tarām*, *vī-kram* accompaniment is much more likely to have come from *Vi-ṣṇu* than vice versa. In any case, it is only Indra and never Viṣṇu who climbs the ridges (1. 10. 2). On the other hand, Viṣṇu is peculiarly the god of movement. Perhaps splendor is implicit, as in many

Yet the animals with which Indra is merely compared indicate only his strength or fury. Thus he is 'like an elephant' and 'like a lion' in the same verse (4. 16. 14). Metaphorically he is a steed devouring people (2. 21. 3) and winning fields, *urvarājīṭ*, as he wins everything else, *viśvajīṭ*, while at the same time he is the bull that does not yield and of unequalled wisdom (*āsamaṣṭakāvyaḥ*, 2. 21. 1-4). All these differ from the animality expressed by his becoming a ram for the sake of a love-affair and by his being addressed directly as the ram, 'Sing to the ram' (1. 51. 1). Indra is hymned as bull or buffalo elsewhere without special allusion to the stream of life sent out by him (compare 1. 177, etc.).²²

To Indra is ascribed the only general verdict on women's mind: *aśūsyām mīnaḥ; utó āha krātuṃ raghūm* (8. 33. 17), that is, according to Ludwig, women's 'sinn fügt der zucht sich nicht, auch ihre einsicht ist gering,' but, in the more courteous version of Grassmann, women's sense is 'untadelig' and she possesses 'rüstige Thätigkeit'! It really means that a woman is a light-minded creature whose thoughts are not to be controlled, the passage being late and to be interpreted accordingly. The only significance it has here lies in its being attributed to Indra at all, as a general proverb is attributed to the one who ought to have said it. In other words, Indra was already an expert in female lore.

A relic of the gradual rise of Indra at the expense of other gods may be seen in the statement of 7. 21. 5-7, that phallic gods are not admitted to the rite of the Vasiṣṭhas and that former gods have yielded their power to the spiritual lordship of Indra. Many passages point to the same fact. Compare 6. 36. 1, 'When thou didst take to thyself the spirit-power of the gods'; 2. 16. 4, 'All have brought their power to him the revered, *yajatá*, as to one who is the bull' among gods; 4. 17. 1, 'Earth yielded her power (matriarchal?) to thee and Dyaus admitted

words of swift motion (IF. 2. 43); but the radical idea is movement and the root *vi* or *vī*, meaning 'go, hasten, be active,' is in accord with the conception of the god who is especially called 'swift' and 'hastening,' *esá*, etc. It is said of the Ásvins that they go through the back of the hill (1. 117. 16), but the only connection Viṣṇu has with the *sānu* is to 'stand on the back of the hill' with Indra (1. 155. 1).

²² 'When they say "he is born of a horse," I think it means that "he is born of strength"' (10. 78. 10).

it'; 4. 19. 2, 'As if weak with age (cf. 8. 45. 20) the gods succumbed; thou hast become (*bhúvah*) the universal lord'; 6. 22. 9, 'Thou hast become (*bhúvah*) king of divine and earthly people.' As thus exalted Indra becomes *pátir diváh* (10. 111. 3, and above), lord of the sky; and the Vasiṣṭhas 'do not forget to praise him as an Asura' (7. 22. 5). He even becomes the god of the thirty-four heavenly lights (10. 55. 3) or gods (he divides the sky, astronomically, 10. 138. 6), the all-maker, all-god (*viśvákarmā viśvādevah*, 8. 98. 2), the universal father and mother (ib. 11), begetter of earth and sky (ib. 36. 4-5; 96. 4-6). Such exaltation in no wise lessens the aspect presented above, any more than does the occasionally exclusive laudation of Indra as a war-god and victor. The Vedic Aryans do not all yield to him at once. The worshipers of Indra are 'blamed' (1. 4. 5); they even 'endure the people's curse,' *titikṣante abhīśastiṃ jánānām* (3. 30. 1), but Indra 'satisfies even those that blame' him (8. 70. 10). The *tvānīdas*, 'they that blame thee,' are of the first importance in estimating the godship of Indra in the Rīg-Veda.²³ It is only gradually that he becomes so great that even among the Vasiṣṭhas he is a 'savior from sin' as well as 'leader of the army' (7. 20. 1, 5). His 'magic' becomes 'wisdom,' and he is extolled by Varuṇa as well as by Viṣṇu and the bowing Maruts (8. 12. 29; 15. 9; 10. 113. 2). As supreme god Indra 'does not oppose the laws' of other gods (10. 48. 11); he even avenges the wrong done to Varuṇa (10. 89. 8 f.). Yet this is he who shrinks neither from the vendetta waged by those he has wronged, nor from any crime, *ná kṛbīṣād īṣate* (5. 34. 4). His every act becomes famous because he is now so great (8. 45. 32). As his two steeds become a hundred (8. 6. 42) and then a thousand (6. 47. 18), adorned with peacock-tails and white backs (3. 45. 1; 8. 1. 25), so has he himself been multiplied and magnified. 'Dyaus Asura bowed to great Indra, Earth also bowed, and all the gods placed him first' (1. 131. 1). He is the 'young' god to whom other gods have yielded their strength; but he is *śívā*, 'kind,' to his worshiper, though a relentless victor and usurper (2. 20. 3 f.). As usurper Indra

²³ In 10. 48. 7 Indra himself asks, 'Why do (my) un-Indra enemies blame me?' The Maruts too are not without their scoffer (5. 42. 10; cf. 6. 52. 2). Viṣṇu as 'friend' of Indra may also be blamed (10. 27. 6, Ludwig). In 2. 23. 14 some blame Bṛhaspati (Indra).

is extolled; he is the great thief among the gods. It is he who stole (1. 131. 4) not only earth and water and Soma, but the dawns with the sun (2. 20. 5, *muṣṇánn uśásah*). 'Being lord because of thy physical power thou hast stolen the sun's disk' (1. 175. 4; cf. 1. 11. 4, 'of unlimited power, the youthful wise one'). Thus truly the Viśvāmitras, one of his triumphant clans, may say of him that 'he is the only king of the whole world,' and the Kanvas cry, 'the gods have bowed themselves to thy friendship, O Marudgaṇa' (3. 46. 2; 8. 89. 2; 8. 98. 3).

On the whole, of former interpretations of Indra, that offered by Hillebrandt best agrees with what has here been unfolded. His idea is that Indra was originally the sun, but in the Rig-Veda is no longer the sun-god, while not yet a rain-god. This, to be sure, leaves the Vedic Indra suspended like an epic sage in mid-air, so to speak, but it is a helpful explanation, and the only one that resolves, in a measure, the many elements of fertility; unless indeed one adopts the older attitude of Roth and Perry and holds that as universal god Indra is explicable in any function,²⁴ which seems to me impossible, as Indra's gradual growth is unmistakable. Yet I cannot accept Indra as originally a sun-god when he slays Arbuda with cold (nor translate *hiména* with Hillebrandt as 'in winter') and assumes (steals) solar powers and only in the latest hymns is 'like the sun' or is the sun. Nor can I see why a god of light should have become obnoxious to the treatment Indra received from Zoroaster or Zoroastrianism. If originally the sun, he should have become a favorite, not the third-worst devil. Vṛtra too as winter cold opposes all tradition. If we imagine Indra first as a demon of fertility, his rise to chief war-god among two or three clans is on a par with similar development elsewhere, and his rise from war-god to greatest god of the larger group of clans is like that of most successful war-gods, for example those of Babylon and Assyria. Even his aspect as healer is consonant with his origin as here depicted.²⁵ Witness the healing qualities of the Food-spirit in Shintoism, now curer of ills as well as genius of fertility and food.

²⁴ Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 3. 251; Perry, JAOS. 11. 69. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 143, points out that Indra is a rain-god also in Pāli literature.

²⁵ Health and water 'as medicine' are connected. See 5. 53. 14, where all three come from the Maruts.

If the development of Mars, as some think, were certainly from a fertility-spirit, we should have in him a good parallel to Indra. Apollo, too, who begins as spirit of herds and flocks, is identified with the Ram (-god, Karneios), has his love-affairs with nymphs and shepherdesses, becomes identified with the sun, and then appears as a healer (he came to Rome first as Apollo Medicus), which seems to have been very nearly the career of Indra, though I should ascribe to the latter god a more general productivity than that evinced by Apollo's care for cattle. Perhaps, however, we are too prone to make specialists of the ancient clan-gods. Departmental spirits have their place, but the chief god of any clan has from the first more to attend to than have they. *Juppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri*, long after he becomes the national god, Stator, Victor, Invictus, Maximus, Optimus; not because he assumes universal guardianship and then *inter alia* sees to rain, but because, despite his later greatness, he retains his primitive duty of caring for his clan in all ways.

Further Notes on the So-Called Epic of Paradise.—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

In JAOS 36, pp. 140-145, Dr. Stephen H. Langdon has criticised my review (*ibid.* pp. 90-114) of his 'Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and Fall of Man,' and seeks by means of text corrections to maintain his thesis that his document contains a description of Paradise, the ejection of mankind by a flood, and the deliverance of a certain pious person who became an agriculturist and was eventually cursed by the god Enki.

Accepting many of Dr. Langdon's textual emendations—it is still impossible to see how he has altered my interpretation of the text as a whole. He may show that the cassia plant was not the death-plant and, as will appear from the following review of his criticisms, he may have improved the lucidity of the text in places, but he has certainly not broken down the interpretation of the crucial Obv. i., describing the condition of the land as a waste place desolated by drought instead of, as he believes, a Paradise on earth. Upon this first column the correct understanding of the entire poem depends.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Jastrow, I have been able to comment on some of his and Dr. Chiera's emendations, based upon their recent collation of the text.

OBVERSE

I.

1) *e-ne-ba-ám* I rendered 'they that are cut off,' understanding the verb-root to be *ba* + the suffix *ám*. This seems to me a still possible translation, but, even if we regard *e-ne* as the verb-stem = *calálu* and *ba-ám* as the suffix, the interpretation remains the same; viz., 'they that have ceased, they that have ceased are ye'; note IV. R. 13 b, 39: *ú-ba-ra-e-ne* = *la aclalu* 'I shall not cease.' The people of the land have ceased to exist.

17) Langdon: *nu-ub-zu* (vice *-ba*). If accepted, I render: 'the dog knows no longer the crouching kids,' i. e. does not recognize them, because there are neither dogs nor kids!

18) L. reads DUN = some sort of bovine animal, 'zebu (?)'. Render: 'the DUN (?) knows no longer how to eat the grain.' It is not necessary to assume the idea 'cohabit' for *zu*, a sense, which, by the bye, need not be regarded as 'obscene' (L). On the other hand if L.'s original *ba* (for *zu*) be retained, *ba* = *našâru*, 'tear': 'the dog no longer tears the kids' (Jastrow). I prefer *zu*, as this makes better sense in connection with the cattle eating grain.

19) Obscure, but in the general sense showing the absence of life: *nu-mu-un-su* (L. *su*, better than *zu*) *dim-ur-ra* can hardly mean 'grown-up offspring,' but merely 'offspring'; *nu-mu-un-su* means 'seed of the body' (*su*). L.: 'fondling of the lap' (?) = *dim-ur-ra* (?).

28) *libir-e X-e nu-mu-nigin*. L. reads the unknown sign X as *zag* = *pirištu*, *nîmequ* 'wisdom,' or = *rêmu* 'mercy.' It cannot possibly mean 'mercy' here. If this be admitted, the line may be rendered: 'the *libir* no longer turns (*nigin*) to wisdom,' i. e. officials no longer perform their function, because they do not exist.

30) L.: *zag eri-ka i-lu* (DIB vice KU) *nu-mu-ni-bi*, and translates: 'in the sanctuary of the city, alas (*i-lu*) they said not,' but this really means: 'the decree (*zag*) of the city is accepted no longer, they say'; DIB = *cabâtu* which can mean 'accept.' That is, city ordinances have no longer any weight, as there are no more cities. All government has ceased. Jastrow denies the *zag*-sign here, and reads *i-lu* as *i-dur* (KU) = *nubbu* 'they lament' (?).

31) Chiera states *a-a-ni* is correct.

OBVERSE

II.

16) Untranslated before. L.: *a-šag a-gar ab-sim-a-ni še-mu-na*, 'the fields and meadows their vegetation (yielded in abundance).' Accepting this and reading 'shall yield,' it is in harmony with the rest of the passage, showing the beneficent nature of the flood.

31) L.: *En-ki-ge za* (vice *a*) *Dam-gal-nun-na*, 'Enki by the side of (= with) Damgalnunna.' Jastrow thinks *a* is certain, and objects to *za* as a preposition before the noun, but preposi-

tions exist in Sumerian (cp. HT. p. 141); in fact *â* (*a-a*) = 'by the side of.'

OBVERSE

III.

4, 5, 7, 8, 24, 25 L. reads: *nu-mu-un-su-ub-bi* 'the sinless seed,' vice *nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi* 'as thy seed revere him.' This makes no essential change.

12, 32 L.: *gîbîl im-ma-an-su-ub*, vice *-te(g)*. This can mean 'with fire he purified (the ship).'

27, 28 L.: *su-ub-bu-ma-ni*, '(the son of man, that pious one) whom he has declared pure'; perhaps better: 'whom he has purified.' This is in harmony with my general rendering, indicating the divine approbation of the favorite.

39) Langdon objects to my reading *Tag-gu* (KU) for the name of the favorite on the ground that the second sign in the name has two internal horizontals, which he claims must always indicate a *tug*-value. This theory is not substantiated by Barton, Thureau-Dangin, or Friedr. Delitzsch, all of whom make no phonetic difference between the square enclosure with one, two or three internal horizontals. It is not probable that the sign with two horizontals could not have the value *ku*. At the same time, it must be admitted that the phonetic value of this name is very obscure, but Langdon's association of his value *Tag-tug* with the *nâxu*-stem 'rest,' in order to connect the word with the Biblical Noah, is too far-fetched to seem possible. Jastrow denies the possibility of a name *Tag-tug* at all. It would have to be *Tag-tag* or *Tug-tug*. This is very probable.

42) L.: *gu ga-ra-ab-dûg* (vice *-ra-dûg*); render: 'I will say it (-b) to thee (*ra*-).'

REVERSE

I.

36) L.: *ne-in-si-si* (vice *mal-e*); render: 'in his seat (*ûr-ra-ni*) he took his place (*si-si*).'

39) L.: *sukkal-na* (vice *é-na*); render: 'to his messenger he gave order.' Jastrow reads *sukkal-a-na*, a much better rendering grammatically but Chiera says *e* = BIT is sure!

41) L.: *ġul-RIM* (vice *ġul-si*), indicating some sort of plant; render: 'I, as gardener, planted (?) the *ġul-RIM* plant.'

42) L. objects to *šam-*, substituting probably *il*; render: 'I will appoint thee as *il*' (obscure). Note that *il* = *Ka-ka-si-ga*, perhaps 'mouth-giver' = 'agent, attorney' (?). Jastrow says *šam* is certain; if so, a better version.

48) L.: *si-gi* (vice his original *zi*). I also read *si-gi* (JAOS 36, p. 104).

REVERSE

II.

20) L.: *u-RIM* (vice *u-giš*); render: 'my king as to the *u-RIM* plant has decreed.' According to L. = *supalu*, *suplu* = *lardu*; *arantu* 'nard,' n. 1, p. 142.

35) L. corrects his translation regarding the cassia-plant which is apparently not the herb of death. Render: 'he may pluck it; he may eat it.'

37) L. inserts *En-ki* and reads *sig* (vice *di*); render: '*Enki* placed therein the plant whose fate he had determined.' This seems correct. Then follows the curse, but there is no statement that any forbidden plant has been eaten! In fact, the reason of the curse is not given at all, which materially interferes with Langdon's idea as to the meaning of the text, and this by his own more recent reading, inserting the god-name *En-ki*.

37 and 38). Note the passage *i-de nam-ti-la en-na ba-ug-gi-a i-de bara-an-bar-ri-en*, which L. renders: 'the face of life, until he dies, shall he not see.' If the word 'until' be retained, this makes no clear sense in English. Until he dies, he would be living and hence would be 'seeing the face of life,' which can only mean 'live.' This passage must, therefore, point to the time of the favorite's death. I still render *en-na ba-ug-gi-a*, 'when he dies,' indicating that at the time of his death he shall not see life, i. e. have no eternal life (JAOS 36, p. 93). The form *ba-ug-gi-a* with overhanging *-a* can mean only 'when he dies.' *En-na* undoubtedly means 'until' (Del., *Sum. Gr.*, p. 58), but it must be used here in the sense of an anticipative durative. It should be noted that, when *en-na* clearly means 'until,' it must be followed by *-š* in the verb-form (Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 58). We find a similar usage to this in the Slavonic languages, as in Russian *na būdushchi god*, lit., 'unto (until) next year,' which is commonly used in the simple sense 'next year,' by anticipation. It should be observed, however, that, even if

Langdon is right, this still does not change the general meaning of the text, which plainly prescribes a punishment for the favorite.

40) L.: *lul-a*, 'with woful cry'; better 'rebelliously' (= *sar-aru*).

44) L. strikes out the numeral two and reads *-a*, which was originally suggested by Jastrow; i. e. *uru-ma-a giš-mal ga-ri-du* (KAK) *mu-zu ġe-pad-da*. He is probably right in thinking that *giš-mal* = 'creature' and not 'throne' and, therefore, the lines should read: 'in my city a being I shall create for thee, and she shall call upon thy name.' Of course, this rendering depends on the correctness of *-a*, instead of 'two,' which is doubtful.

45) Render: . . . 'her head like the others is fashioned.'

46) Render: 'her foot like the others is designed.'

47) Render: 'her eye like the others is endowed with light.'

All this seems to refer to a female companion for the favorite, but the passage is very obscure.

These textual criticisms in no way insure the original interpretation of Dr. Langdon. The sense of Obv. Col. i., as already pointed out by me in JAOS 36, p. 90, still refers to a territory which had been practically destroyed by drought. This desolation is even more vividly described in lines 17 ff. by Langdon's recent corrections of the text! In Obv. ii., the prayer for water is answered more plainly in 16, translated for the first time by Langdon: showing how the fields and meadows yield richly. In Obv. iii., the special favorite is allotted to the goddess. As Langdon now has it, he is 'the pure seed; the purified one,' fit for divine service. Dr. Langdon's textual changes make no difference whatever in favor of a 'Paradise'-interpretation. He states that this is not a 'tendency' composition, as it has no refrains, yet an impartial student, reading the text in JAOS 36, pp. 95 ff., cannot fail to observe the evident antiphonies confirming the stereotyped character of the poem. This is further substantiated by the clearly deliberate arbitrary identification of god with god at the close and the constant submission to Enki (Ea) as supreme.

Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I

Until a comparatively short time ago it was quite impossible to differentiate in the religions that developed thousands of years ago in the Euphrates Valley between elements that could be set down as Sumerian or non-Semitic and such as were Akkadian or Semitic. Even now it would be hazardous to dogmatize on the subject. Such attempts as were formerly made by some scholars, bolder than the rest, were entirely premature, as, for example, the view that the incantations and magical texts embodied Sumerian points of view, while hymns of a higher order and lamentation psalms were the contributions of Akkadians to the mixed Sumero-Akkadian culture. As a result, however, of the progress made during the past decade and the elucidation of the mysteries of Sumerian texts—a progress due chiefly to the researches of Thureau-Dangin, Delitzsch, and Poebel—we are in a far better position to interpret also the religious views revealed in these texts. The publication during recent years of many Sumerian religious texts of older periods, or late copies of unquestionably genuine and very old Sumerian originals, has added to the material now at our disposal for distinguishing Sumerian beliefs and points of view from such as are due to later accretions, reflecting Semitic thought and Semitic conceptions. To be sure, we must proceed cautiously in such attempted differentiation, both because of the uncertainty still prevailing in renderings of Sumerian texts and because of the mixed character of the Babylonian religion—composed of Sumerian and Semitic elements even in the earliest period to which our material carries us back.

Barring short votive inscriptions and the ordinary types of legal documents, which because of the occurrence of stereotyped formulas no longer offer any serious difficulties, the first translation of a Sumerian text is still necessarily tentative, and the cautious scholar intersperses his first rendering liberally with interrogation marks or asterisks as an indication of his doubt or his confession of ignorance. Our knowledge of Sumerian

is at present in the position in which Babylonian-Assyrian or, to use the more correct form, Akkadian, was some four decades ago—the general features pretty clearly ascertained, but with much uncertainty as to details. Until two decades ago, considerable doubt existed in the minds of many Assyriologists whether what was called Sumerian really represented a genuine language or was merely an ideographic method of writing Akkadian with all kinds of artificial semi-cryptic devices—a doubt justified by the vagaries of many Sumerologists and by the many strange phenomena presented by Sumerian that gave to it a surface appearance of artificiality. It is, therefore, no small achievement to find ourselves at present able to indicate many of the details of the verb formation, of the combinations of nouns with suffixes, and of the general features of the syntax. We are, furthermore, able in the case of long unilingual texts to furnish at least a general interpretation on which reliance can be placed. Moreover, after a tentative translation of a text has been given, it is possible through the combined efforts of scholars to reach out to more definite results in many matters of detail, albeit that the work of such decipherment is a slow and painful one—a step-by-step process with many pitfalls, to be avoided only by conscientious and unsparing self-criticism, together with a frequent revision of one's results.

With these precautions well in mind, let me put our present knowledge of Sumerian to a test by an endeavor to differentiate between Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings on the basis of the material now at hand.

II

We may take as our starting-point the assumption, probable on *a priori* grounds, that when the Sumerians came to the Euphrates Valley as conquerors¹ they brought with them their traditions regarding the beginnings of things. Such traditions take their rise at an early stage of culture, and the Sumerians must have passed far beyond this stage before commingling with Akkadians. If, therefore, we find in the cuneiform literature

¹ I am leaving to one side the difficult question whether the Sumerians or the Akkadians were the first to settle in the Euphrates Valley, though my own inclination is to adopt Eduard Meyer's view (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 107 seq.) that the Semites were the first on the ground and that the Sumerians represent newcomers.

various views of such beginnings set forth, the attempt to explain such divergent conceptions through an apportionment among Sumerians and Akkadians respectively is at least justified, particularly when the variations point to divergent climatic conditions as their background.

A people dwelling in a valley and in a region where there is water in plenty, and where in fact the overflow of streams during a portion of the year becomes a menace to life and property, will develop different traditions of beginnings from those arising among a people whose home is in mountainous regions where water is less abundant and where there is no danger of inundations. What may be called the main version in cuneiform literature of the beginnings of things is the one familiar to us, since the discovery by George Smith² over forty years ago of a fragment in the library of Ashurbanapal, giving an account of a time when neither heaven nor earth 'had a name,' i. e. did not exist, and detailing the order in which at the beginning of time the gods were produced or evolved in pairs. This fragment proved to be the first tablet of a series of seven, dealing with the work of creation, in which the chief part was played by the god Marduk, who dispatched a monster Tiamat—the symbol and personification of the raging waters—after which the regular order of nature is established in place of the chaos and confusion prevailing while Tiamat and her army of monsters were in control. The circumstance that the hero of the myth is Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon and the head of the pantheon after Babylon had become the capital of an empire, uniting the states or sections into which the Euphrates Valley had been divided, is sufficient evidence that this version of the Creation myth reflects the views and traditions of the Akkadians, who established the empire of which Babylon was the center. This conclusion is confirmed by a more detailed consideration of the contents of the portions of the seven tablets preserved.³ The entire series has been properly designated as a psalm in honor of Marduk, since his overthrow of Tiamat is the central deed. This overthrow forms the starting-point of creation, so

² See the first account of this discovery in TSBA. 2. 213-234, read at the meeting of December 3, 1872.

³ The standard edition is by L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (London, 1902, 2 vols.) in connection with *Cuneiform Texts*, etc., Part 13 (London, 1901).

far as a genuine conception of creation is involved. It might be more accurate perhaps to speak of a process of evolution, since it is not related that the universe is actually created, but merely that the regular order of the phenomena of nature is established after chaotic conditions had been overcome. The earth is assumed to be submerged beneath the waters that cover everything; it has 'no name,' because it was not visible, and therefore to all practical purposes did not exist. The earth meant is the verdure-covered soil, producing plants and trees, and swarming with life, just as by 'heavens' are meant the regular phenomena to be observed in the heavens. Tiamat and her brood represent the fury of the elements, rain and storms. The symbolism is unmistakable, for the name Tiamat means the 'sea' as the conglomeration of all waters. Tiamat and her brood, pictured as cruel and merciless and as destructive forces, symbolize the rainy and stormy season which in a region like the Euphrates Valley submerges large districts, produces havoc and chokes off manifestations of life on the earth till in the spring the sun triumphs over the rains and storms. The earth appears, and through the sun's rays vegetation is brought forth. The period of vegetation represents law and order established in the universe. Marduk is the sun-god, more particularly the youthful hero, identified with the sun of the springtime. The nature-myth underlying the story of Marduk's conquest of Tiamat is, therefore, the change of season from the winter or rainy season to the spring. We are not concerned here with earlier versions which may be discerned beneath the present one, or with the composite elements⁴ to be discerned in the seven tablets, but merely with its final form as clearly embodying the view of beginnings as it shaped itself during the period of Akkadian control in the Euphrates Valley, and received its final form as we have it. The main feature of the myth is that the world, conceived as law and order, began at the beginning of time in the spring. In accord with this we find the New Year's festival celebrated in Babylonia as in Assyria in the spring, and, therefore, the calendar, when perfected, beginning with the first spring month. Such a conception, with water as the primeval

⁴I have discussed these elements in a paper on 'The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story' in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (1906), 2. 969-982.

element that needs to be controlled before vegetation can arise, life endure, and sun, moon and planets move in their courses, is natural to a region marked by two large rivers emptying into a large body of water like the Persian Gulf. An astrological motif enters into the tale, assuming a close relationship between heaven and earth, and leading to a correspondence between events above to occurrences below, which is a feature of Babylonian-Assyrian 'theology.' The story in its present form belongs to the period when the seats of the gods, who as representatives of law and order are opposed by Tiamat and her army, have been transferred to the heavens.⁵ In accordance with this astrological setting, Marduk's first task after overcoming Tiamat is to pass across the heavens, assigning fixed positions to the stars—i. e. to the gods—and regulating the calendar through the phases of the moon. With the sun in control of the universe, the movements of the heavenly bodies are regulated, vegetation springs up below, and the earth is thus prepared to support life—animals and mankind. Heaven, accordingly, just as the earth, is assumed to be in existence, but the latter is not visible and the former does not manifest the regular phenomena of the heavenly bodies. The view here maintained is in keeping with the character of primitive creation tales or myths elsewhere, for the thought of a genuine creation out of nothing—a *creatio ex nihilo*—lies beyond the mental horizon of man in early and even in comparatively advanced stages of culture. As a trace of this limitation in the conception of beginnings, we find the keynote of the Akkadian creation-myth to be order rather than creation—order in place of the preceding lawlessness. The tale remains, despite the introduction of more advanced ideas, on a level with a genuine nature myth—picturing the world as beginning in the spring. It was suggested by the manner in which, because of the climatic conditions prevailing in the Euphrates Valley, there is repeated each spring on a small scale the process of the conquest of the waters, with new life in nature springing up as a consequence of the recession of the waters. The world begins in the spring after the winter rains and storms have ceased.

* See Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 207 seq., and *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, 2. 420 seq.

III

Now by the side of this distinctively Akkadian version—there is no reason to assume that it reverts to a Sumerian original—we have another partially preserved version of creation, written in Sumerian, though fortunately accompanied by an Akkadian translation. While agreeing with the Marduk psæan in not passing back to any real period of a *creatio ex nihilo*, it unfolds in other respects an entirely different picture.

The text, imperfectly preserved,⁶ is an incantation to which as an introduction a narrative of the beginnings of things is attached.⁷ It betrays evidence of having been edited and modified in order to adapt it to later political conditions than those in existence at the time when the composition first arose. This is shown by the introduction of the city of Babylon and its temple as among the first cities to be established (line 14), whereas in an earlier section Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu are named, but not Babylon. Now, Babylon does not come into prominence till after the establishment of a Semitic dynasty

⁶ *Cuneiform Texts*, 13, pl. 35-38. See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 130-139.

⁷ This attachment of myths to incantations is characteristic of both Sumerian and Akkadian compositions. Thus, to give a few examples, we have a tale of a tooth-worm as the supposed cause of toothache introduced in connection with an incantation (*Cuneiform Texts*, 17, pl. 50)—the story forming, as it were, the justification for confidence in the incantation against toothache. The conflict between the moon and hostile powers, the story of the seven evil powers, etc., is part of an incantation series (*Cuneiform Texts* 16, pl. 13, col. iii; pl. 15, col. v, 23-58). An address to the 'River of Creation,' the remnant of some myth dealing with the beginnings of things, forms the introduction to two incantations (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 200-201). Langdon's recent publication of a Sumerian text, which will be discussed below (p. 290), likewise terminates in an incantation. In fact it would seem that to incantations we owe the preservation of most of our Babylonian-Assyrian myths. We encounter the same combination among other peoples. So, e. g., in ancient Germanic literary fragments as in the Merseburger charms, the introduction is a snatch of some myth to justify and strengthen the charm itself that follows. It is interesting to note that we also find bits of myths introduced into astrological texts. So, e. g., in Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldæenne*, Sin, no. i, and King, *Seven Tablets*, 2, pl. 49-50, the creation of the moon and sun by the triad, Anu, Enlil, and Ea. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2. 544.

with Babylon as its center, the sixth member of which is Hammurapi (2123-2081 B. C.), who succeeds in uniting the Euphrates states into a great empire. The introduction of Babylon and its juxtaposition with such far older and genuine Sumerian centres as Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu belongs therefore to the post-Hammurapi age. There are other indications of considerable modification that this text has undergone, and by a careful analysis we can with some degree of certainty lop off the later additions from the original stock. To make this clear I will first give a translation of the text as it stands and then endeavor to restore the older form.

- 1 A holy house, a house of the gods (in) a
holy place⁸ had not been made.
Reed had not sprouted, tree had not been made.
Brick had not been laid, brick structure had not
been built.
No house made, no city built.

- 5 A city had not been made, living creature⁹ not
yet installed.
Nippur was not made, E-Kur not built.¹⁰
Uruk not made, E-Anna not built.
The Deep¹¹ had not been made, Eridu not built.
A holy house, a house of the gods—as its
dwelling was not made.¹²

⁸ The Sumerian original has merely 'the holy place' which is better, for the 'holy house' is the 'holy place.' The line aims to describe a time before the gods had any dwelling-place, i. e. therefore, before they existed.

⁹ A-Dam = *nam-maš-su-u* with the verb *ša-kin* ('place') to convey the idea of filling a place with life. We might render it 'life had not swarmed.'

¹⁰ The city and its temples are inseparable, because the city is primarily the dwelling of the god of the place.

¹¹ Zu-Ab = *ap-su-u*.

¹² Ki-Ku-bi Nu Dim = *šu-bat-su ul ip-ši-it*, literally 'its dwelling was not built,' where *ip-ši-it* is the third person feminine of the Permansive of *epēšu*. The line is again intended, like line 1, to convey the thought that the gods were not yet. It is hardly likely that in the original Sumerian text the heaven as the dwelling-place of the gods was meant, though the later Akkadian translator may have had this in mind.

- 10 All lands were sea.
 At a time when there was a ditch (?)¹³ in the
 midst of the sea,
 At that time, Eridu was made, Esagila was built.
 Esagila where in the midst of the Deep
 Lugal Du-Azagga dwells.
 Babylon he made, Esagila was completed.¹⁴
- 15 The Anunnaki altogether he made.¹⁵
 A holy city, the dwelling of their choice, with
 a lofty name they proclaimed.¹⁶
 Marduk¹⁷ constructed an expanse¹⁸ on the surface
 of the water.
 Dust he made and on the expanse he poured out.
 That the gods might be brought to dwell in
 their chosen dwelling,
- 20 Mankind he created.
 Aruru created the seed of mankind with him.
 Beasts of the field, living creatures in the field¹⁹
 he created.
 The Tigris and Euphrates he made and put in
 their place.
 Their names in goodly fashion he proclaimed.

¹³ *ra-tu-um-ma*, where the emphatic addition *um-ma* conveys the force of 'there was,' corresponding to the Sumerian *nam* = 'indeed.' See Delitzsch, *Sumer. Grammatik*, p. 68. The Sumerian term corresponding to *ra-tu* is *Sita*. *Ra-tu* has been compared with the Hebrew *rahaṭ* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 961), 'ditch' or 'gutter,' and since among the synonyms of *Sita* we find *Sita-na* = *bēratim* 'wells' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 10. 75), we are safe in taking our word to indicate a 'ditch' or 'canal'—perhaps of sweet water in contrast to the *apsū*, 'salt ocean.'

¹⁴ *Su-āu* = *šuk-lul*. Note the different verb from the one (*band*) used in the other portion of the text.

¹⁵ So the Sumerian text, though perhaps an impersonal sense is intended.

¹⁶ The Sumerian text says 'the houses (i. e. the temples of the gods) they named with a lofty name.'

¹⁷ *Gi-lim-ma*, equated with Marduk in the Akkadian translation.

¹⁸ *a-ma-am* (line 17) and *a-mi* in line 18, i. e. *amu*, of which *ammatu*, used in the Akkadian creation story (I, 2.) appears to be a feminine form. *Ammatu* is generally rendered 'ground' or land, but some such more general term like a solid 'expanse' comes nearer to the real meaning.

¹⁹ That is, large and small animals.

- 25 Verdure, the marsh plant, reed, and sprout
 he created.
 The green of the field he created.
 Lands, marsh,²⁰ and swamp,
 Cow with her young, mother-sheep with her lambkin,
 lamb of the fold,
 Groves and forests,
- 30 He-goat, mountain goat he placed.
 The lord Marduk at the edge of the sea an
 embankment shut off.
 reed, marsh (?) he placed.
 he brought forth.
 [Reed] he created, tree he created.
- 35 in the place he created.
 [Brick he laid], brick structure he built.
 [House he made], city he built.
 [City he made], living creature he installed.
 [Nippur he made], E-Kur he built.
- 40 [Uruk] he made, [E-Anna he built.²¹]

Line 5 taken in connection with line 12 points to Eridu lying at the Persian Gulf as the first 'city' to be established. The hero of this myth would, therefore, be the god of Eridu, known to the Sumerians as Enki and appearing in Akkadian texts as Ea. One of the most common designations of this deity is 'King of the Deep' and it is evident, therefore, that Lugal-Du-Azagga, 'King of the holy habitation', is a descriptive title of Enki,²² 'the holy habitation' being either Eridu or the temple at Eridu, or the Apsû or 'Deep' within which Enki dwells. The term was probably applied originally to the great body of water on which Eridu lay and was afterwards extended to both the city

²⁰ *Sug* = *appar* occurring also in line 25 and, therefore, an indication of a second version of the creation of vegetation.

²¹ At this point there is a break in the tablet, and when (pl. 38) it becomes intelligible again, we are in the midst of an incantation. Perhaps two lines corresponding to lines 8 and 9 are to be added as follows:

'The Deep he made, Eridu he built.

- A holy house, the house of the gods—as its dwelling he made.'

²² See further below (p. 298, note 63) on Du-Azagga as the Sumerian name of the 7th month (Tašritu) and perhaps originally the beginning of the year. Tašritu, the Akkadian equivalent, means 'beginning.'

and temple sacred to him. Since Eridu by virtue of its position must have been one of the oldest settlements in the region, if not indeed the oldest, it would be natural to find a 'creation' myth centering around this place as the first bit of *terra firma* to be created. A 'city,' which here simply means an inhabited place, is inconceivable from the Sumerian-Akkadian point of view without the temple as the 'house' of the god to whom the city is sacred. The 'holy house' is therefore in the first line, according to the Sumerian text,²² equated with the 'holy place,' just as in line 4 'house' and 'city' are equated. The first four lines describe in a general fashion a time before anything that we associate with this earth of ours—temples, plants, trees, structures, and cities—existed. It is not, however, said, as in the Akkadian version, that neither heaven nor earth 'had a name.' Apparently the world exists, not even submerged—but it is empty.

With the repetition of the reference to the 'city' in line 5, we reach a more specific stage of the description of the beginnings of things and I venture to suggest that line 8,

The Deep had not been made, Eridu not built,

forms the parallel to line 5. Lines 6-7, mentioning two other old 'cities,' Nippur and Uruk, would then be later additions, introduced as illustrations of the time when nothing at all existed in this world. We may go a step further and take these two lines as belonging to another version which has been dovetailed into the one associated more particularly with Eridu. This view would carry with it the assumption that lines 9-11 belong to this 'Nippur' version, as we might call it, in contradistinction to the 'Eridu' version. An assumption of this nature would explain the repetition in line 9 of what has been already said, in line 1. Moreover the conception of 'all lands being sea' is in contradiction to line 8 where it is said that Apsû or the watery deep had not yet been made. The conception in the 'Nippur' version agrees with the one in the above discussed 'Akkadian' myth, according to which water covered everything at the beginning of time. Line 11 would also belong to the 'Nippur' version, beginning the description of the manner in which *terra firma* appeared or was brought into existence, the description being continued in line 18. The Eridu ver-

²² See above, note 8.

sion, on the other hand, beginning with lines 1-5 and 8, continues in lines 12-13 with the description of Eridu and its temple as the first to be created. Line 14

Babylon he made, Esagila was completed,

is clearly a later insertion *ad maiorem gloriam* of the later capital of the Babylonian empire, the temple of which derived its name from the far older sanctuary of Eridu.²⁴ The use of an entirely different verb in this line—*Šu-dū* = *kalālu*, 'complete,' in place of *Dū* = *cpēšu* or *Dim* = *banū*, 'make' and 'build'—points likewise to a different source for this line.

In the Eridu version the creator is naturally the god of Eridu, introduced as Lugal-Du-Azagga in line 13. It is he, therefore, who is to be regarded as the subject of lines 15 and 20, specifying the creation of the Anunnaki and mankind. Anunnaki is here a collective name used either for the gods in general or more probably for a group of deities under the tutelage of Lugal-Du-Azagga, constituting his court and who are created at one time by him. These Anunnaki assign a 'lofty name' for the holy city chosen by them, that is, for Eridu.²⁵ In order to provide a dwelling place, i. e. a temple in the city thus chosen, Lugal-Du-Azagga, it is said, (line 20) 'creates mankind.'²⁶

That humanity exists for the sake of the gods is the philosophy underlying this version. The gods wish to be worshiped; they need dwelling-places where the worshipers can gather. Men are therefore created to build temples as the essential feature of 'cities.'

Line 21 represents again a gloss to line 14, in part to conform to the later view which associates a female consort with every deity, in part to combine the version with another one which made the female divine element—here designated as

²⁴ The transfer is part of the general process, assigning to Marduk the attributes and distinction belonging to Ea of Eridu, who becomes the father of Marduk. See Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 92, seq.

²⁵ The Sumerian form of the city is designated as *Dug*, 'the good city,' whereas in the Akkadian translation, it is likewise written ideographically but as *Nun-Ki*, 'the great' or 'royal' place.

²⁶ The conception is similar to what we find in the sixth tablet of the Akkadian version (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 86 seq.), where it is implied that mankind is created because the gods are lonely and want followers to pay them worship.

Aruru—the 'mother' of mankind. Aruru is merely one of many designations given to this element, which in the systematized pantheon of the Akkadians is symbolized under the generic designation of Ishtar.

There follows (lines 22-35) a description of the creation of animals and of plants and trees. The repetition points to a combination of two versions, since it is unlikely that in a unit text we would have double descriptions of (a) creation of animals (line 22 and again in line 28 and 30), (b) the springing up of verdure and plants (lines 25-27 and again lines 32-35), while (c) line 29 again impresses one as a gloss added to either the one or the other version. In fact it is possible that we have three versions of the creation of animals and plants dovetailed into one another, to be analyzed as follows: (a) lines 22-26, animals, Tigris and Euphrates, verdure and plants²⁷; (b) lines 27-28 and 30, verdure, plants, and animals (with line 29 as an interrupting gloss); and (c) lines 32-35, verdure, animals,²⁸ and trees. At all events, there can be little question that lines 22-26 belong to the Eridu version, as is indicated by the mention of the two great rivers which empty their waters into the great 'deep'—the domain of Lugal-Du-Azagga. It is this god, therefore, who creates the animals of the field, assigns courses to the two rivers, gives them their names (by which is meant his control of them, since he calls them into existence), and finally it is Lugal-Du-Azagga who causes vegetation to spring up. Lines 27-28 and 30 may belong to the Nippur version, while lines 31 and those following may represent a later addition in order to ascribe the honor of creation to Marduk.²⁹ If we are to assume a third independent version embodied in our text it would be the Marduk or Babylon version of which, therefore, line 14 would form a part.

This brings us to the last point to be considered in our analysis—the occurrence of the name Marduk in line 17 as the equiva-

²⁷ Line 26 would represent a general summary to indicate all kinds of vegetation.

²⁸ To be supplied in line 33, which would, therefore, read '[beasts of the field and living creatures of the field] he brought forth,' or similar words supplied at the beginning. Lines 31-32 would then form part of the 'Marduk' or 'Babylon' version together with lines 14 and 21.

²⁹ Or this, as an alternative, may form part of a second Nippur version, modified by the substitution of Marduk for Enlil. See below, p. 287.

lent of a Sumerian deity written *Gi-Lim-ma*. As the sole instance of such an equation, it is open to question whether the Akkadian translator is not revealing here his preference for Marduk rather than following a genuine tradition. If the line belongs to the 'Nippur' version, we should expect *Gi-Lim-ma* to be a designation of Enlil. The circumstance that in line 31, where the Sumerian portion is broken off, we have *be-lum Marduk*, 'lord Marduk,' points likewise to the substitution here of the god Marduk for the old patron deity of Nippur, who in the Akkadian myth of creation is obliged to yield his headship of the pantheon which he so long enjoyed to Marduk. The 'Nippur' version, consisting of lines 6-7, 9-11, 17, 18, 27-28, 30, and possibly also 33 and 35 (but hardly 31 and 32), would thus furnish us with an account of creation, beginning with a description of a chaotic condition when the waters prevailed everywhere, as in the Akkadian version, followed by an account of *terra firma* brought about by a foundation of some kind stretched on the waters on which a deity pours dust so as to secure soil. After this land and marsh appear in which animal life is placed and reeds and trees spring up. If line 21 belongs to this version,²⁰ we would also have a reference to the creation of mankind by a deity in association with a goddess.

The other version, forming, according to the thesis above set forth, the account of the beginnings of things, belonging to the old Sumerian center of Eridu, and consisting of lines 1-5, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22-26, reads as follows:

- 1 A holy house, a house of the gods (in) a
holy place had not been made.
- 2 Reed had not sprouted, tree had not been made.
- 3 Brick had not been laid, brick structure had not
been built.
- 4 No house made, no city built.
- 5 A city had not been made, living creature not yet
installed.
- 8 The Deep had not been made, Eridu²¹ not built.
- 12 At that time Eridu was made, Esagila was built.
- 13 Esagila where in the midst of the Deep, Lugal-Du-
Azagga dwells.

²⁰ See, however, above, p. 284.

²¹ Written Dug-(ga), the 'good' city. See above, note 25.

- 15 The Anunnaki altogether he made.
- 16 A holy city, the dwelling of their choice, with
a lofty name they proclaimed.
- 19 That the gods might be brought to dwell in
their chosen dwelling,
- 20 Mankind he created.
- 22 Beasts of the field, living creatures in the field
he created.
- 23 The Tigris and Euphrates he made and put in
their place.
- 24 Their names in goodly fashion he proclaimed.
- 25 Verdure, the marsh plant, reed, and sprout he
created.
- 26 The green of the field he created.

This portion of our text I regard as the original stock which has been enlarged by the dovetailing into it of another version, probably originating in Nippur, which has been modified so as to make Marduk the hero; he replaces Enlil, the god of Nippur, who is described by one of his epithets as Gi-Lim-ma. Taking up now the 'Eridu' version, we note in the first place the absence of any conflict. There is no assumption of a chaotic condition at the beginning of time with the watery element in control. A city as the dwelling of the god Lugal-Du-Azagga and the production of the Anunnaki are the first steps in the work of creation, after which mankind and animals are created, and vegetation springs up. The version, therefore, assumes the earth to be in existence but empty. There is no life in it. The god of Eridu, Enki, described as 'king of the holy habitation,' is also in existence, and in a naïve way it is assumed that his dwelling place represents the starting-point of the world. There is implied here, as already suggested, a synonymity between the 'deep' as the dwelling of Enki and the 'city' of Enki which is Eridu. Both fall within the category of a 'holy place' (line 1) which the Akkadian translation, it will be recalled, modifies somewhat.³² The 'city' is also associated with the 'temple' in the 'city.' Both 'city' and 'temple' are copies of the 'Deep' as the prototype of Enki's dwelling, but the 'Deep' too must be created. This is significant by way of contrast to the Akka-

³² By adding 'in,' see above, note 8.

dian version which assumes the 'Deep' as the watery element in complete control and, therefore, of course, existing at the beginning of time. The underlying conception of the Eridu version is that the watery element must be created before the empty earth can be filled with human life and with animals, and before vegetation can be produced. Such a conception could hardly have arisen in the same climatic region as the one which gave rise to the 'Akkadian' version, emphasizing the superabundance of the watery element to such an extent as to assume the earth to be submerged beneath the surging mass, and necessitating a conflict to subdue the lawless element. The reflection of this view is also to be seen in the 'Nippur' version, dovetailed into the 'Eridu' version, and if we are to assume the existence of a third version in the text just analyzed, that too—a 'Babylon' or a second 'Nippur' version—would be in accord with the 'Akkadian' conception. The substratum of the text, on the other hand, points to an origin of the conception evolved in a region where water is not abundant, where instead of water being the element to be overcome it is the condition necessary to bring about all life and vegetation. The world begins according to this version with the coming of the watery element, not with its being placed under control. Creation was pictured as ensuing at the time of the beginning of the rainy season, not with the cessation of the rains and storms. The 'Eridu' version, therefore, directs us to some mountainous region where there are no streams that overflow and submerge entire districts, where water is not abundant, or at least not so abundant as to give rise to the view that it was the primeval element. If, therefore, the 'Akkadian' version represents the world as beginning in the spring, with the triumph of the sun over the rains and storms of winter, the 'Eridu' version would point to such a beginning in the fall of the year, when the winter rains set in. Now to be sure, Eridu is situated on the Persian Gulf, and therefore we would not expect any version to arise in that center which would represent the beginnings of things otherwise than in the 'Akkadian' story. We must, therefore, assume the 'Eridu' version to have been brought to this region by the Sumerians from their original homes. Where this home was, it is impossible at present to determine with any degree of certainty, but several indications point to its having been in a mountainous district. One

of these indications is the *zikkurat* or stage-tower, attached to temples of Babylonia in the old Sumerian centers. These stage-towers, consisting of a series of stories one above the other with either a winding ascent to the top or a direct ascent from one stage to the other, are clearly intended to represent a mountain and the circumstance that the seat of the deity to whom the tower is sacred was at the top points to a belief which placed the seats of the gods on the tops of mountains. Such a belief is common among peoples dwelling in a mountainous region, and the inference is justified that the people who introduced the *zikkurat*³³ into the Euphrates Valley came from such a region and by a natural impulse were led to reproduce a mountain in miniature to symbolize their old manner of worship. That the *zikkurat* is always attached to the temple proper, which is modeled after the pattern of a house with a court or two courts and with chambers around the courts, indicates that in this combination of two *motifs* in the religious architecture the 'house' comes first, and the *zikkurat*, as a supplement, second. The altar is in connection with the 'house,' and the main cult is carried on before the image of the god in the innermost part of the house, not on the top of the *zikkurat*.³⁴ We may, therefore, set down the temple or house *motif* as due to the Semites among whom, as among the Egyptians, the temple is patterned upon the dwelling-house, and the tower *motif* as the one introduced into the Euphrates Valley by the Sumerians. Again, the fact that the word for 'country' (*Kur*) in Sumerian means primarily 'mountain,' leads us likewise to a mountainous region as the home of the Sumerians. The sign reverts to the picture of a mountain. As against one word for both 'mountain' and 'country' in Sumerian, we have in Akkadian two separate words (*šadû*, 'mountain,' and *mātu*, 'country' or 'land'). The name E-Kur, 'mountain house,' as the designation of the temple of the Sumerian deity En-lil in Nippur, known to be one of the oldest of the Sumerian centers in the Euphrates Valley, may be instanced as a further proof, and in accord with this we find Enlil addressed

³³ The Sumerian term for *zikkurat* is *U-Nir*, to be explained perhaps as 'visible far and wide.'

³⁴ See for further details Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 374 *seq.*; and *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 280 *seq.*

in hymns as the 'great mountain,'³⁵ and his consort Ninlil is also known as Nin-ġar-sag, i. e. 'lady of the mountain.' Perhaps a name like E-sagila, 'high house', for Enki's temple at Eridu,³⁶ another exceedingly ancient, if not indeed the oldest, Sumerian settlement, is to be accounted for in the same way as E-Kur. Until some decisive evidence is forthcoming, the further question whether the Sumerians came from the mountainous districts of southern and central Asia Minor must be left in abeyance, with much in favor of Brünnow's view³⁷ that the Sumerians came to the Valley from the northwest rather than the northeast.

IV

We are fortunate in having another very ancient Sumerian text affording us a view of beginnings, and which upon analysis turns out to be in agreement with the above discussed 'Eridu' version, picturing the world at the beginning of time to be in existence, but empty through lack of water. With the coming of the rain, vegetation appears and the world is prepared to sustain life—animal and human. I refer to the text which Langdon has published under the title of *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (Philadelphia, 1915). Langdon is entirely wrong in seeing in the beginning of the text a description of a primeval Paradise, as well as in his view that mankind was ejected from this fictitious Paradise with the coming of a flood from which a favored individual is said to have escaped, and that this favored individual, whom Langdon calls Tagtug, then forfeits the boon of immortality by eating of a forbidden fruit. I have tried to show this in a brief article on 'The Sumerian View of Beginnings' (JAOS 36. 122), which will be followed by a full analysis of Langdon's text in vol. 33 no. 2 of

³⁵ Rawlinson IV², pl. 27, no. 2, obv. 15-16; Gudea Cyl. A, col. viii, 16, etc. Meyer's view (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 33) that the seat of the gods on the tops of mountains is a Semitic conception is correct, but this does not exclude it also as a Sumerian belief.

³⁶ Then transferred to Marduk's temple at Babylon. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1. 130 seq., and *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 93.

³⁷ ZA. 28. 387. See Eduard Meyer's remarks in *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 114, who leaves the question open. See further, Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 121, and King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 53 seq. and Appendix I.

the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. Professor Sayce agrees with my view that there is no account of a flood in Langdon's text (*Expository Times*, November 1915), while Barton (*Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 283 note) as well as Prince (JAOS 36. 90) and finally Peters in a review of Langdon's publication, also agree with me in rejecting all of Langdon's theses. Langdon's rendering of the text or rather his two renderings³⁸ are full of false translations due to his faulty method and lack of attention to philological niceties, as his text is full of errors, some of which he has now himself recognized, though by no means all.³⁹ We are concerned here merely with the first two columns of the text.

The text opens with a description of the god Enki and his consort Nin-ella who dwell alone in a mountain, described as a 'holy place,' Ki Azagga,⁴⁰ corresponding to E Azagga, 'holy house' and Ki Azagga in the Eridu version of the beginnings of things above analyzed.

The name of the mountain is written with a sign the reading of which is doubtful. Langdon's proposal to identify it with Dilmun, written invariably Ni-Tuk, is good enough as a guess but on examination turns out to be indefensible.⁴¹ Let us call the place X for the present. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that Enki and his consort are 'alone' (lines 7 and 10). If, therefore, the 'holy place' in the mountain X is further described in a description comprising lines 13-21, as a spot where animals did not carry on their usual activities associated with them, it is reasonable to conclude that such a description is merely a poetic manner of emphasizing that no animals were found there. In other words Enki and Ninella are in a world in which there is not as yet any animal life. The raven, it is said in this description, did not croak, the kite (?) did not shriek, the lion

³⁸ What he calls a revised translation is given by him in the *Expository Times* for January, 1916, pp. 165-168, and we are now promised a third to be issued in French, which he announces will be the 'final' one.

³⁹ See his 'Critical Notes upon the Epic of Paradise,' JAOS 36. 140-145, the 'uncritical' character of which will be shown by me in my article in AJSL.

⁴⁰ The epithet occurs three times, lines 2, 4, 5, and is to be supplied in line 3 and probably also in line 1; it alternates with *El* 'pure' in lines 6, 9, and 12.

⁴¹ See the discussion of this reading in my article in AJSL.

did not slay, the wolf did not plunder the lambs, the dog did not tear the kids, and the unidentified animal (now read *zebu* by Langdon) did not graze, the young did not graze (?) with the mother, the bird of heaven did not do something, the dove did not hatch (?).⁴² To assume these lines to be a description of a primeval Paradise where all was 'peace and bliss,' as Langdon proposed, is clearly out of the question. If we had merely the lines about the lion, wolf, and dog, the interpretation would be possible, but a difficulty arises with the 'raven' and 'kite.' Why should ravens not croak or kites not shriek? That surely would not seriously disturb the bliss of Paradise, unless we assume that Enki and his consort were 'nervous,' sensitive to unpleasant noises. Line 18, where it is said that the *zebu* (?) did not 'graze,' is fatal to Langdon's thesis.⁴³ But human life is also non-existent in the 'holy place.' This is indicated in lines 22-25, again in poetic fashion, by saying that there were no diseases, that no one said 'mother' or 'father.' Since diseases were believed to be due to demons that had found their way into the body and which had to be exorcised in order that the sufferer might be relieved, the absence of disease was due to the fact that there were no demons, and this again because there were no people whom they could plague. 'Father' and 'Mother' was not said because there were no parents to be addressed and no children to address them.⁴⁴

The description in col. i of our text is, therefore, that of a world in existence but empty, and the reason for this absence of animal and human life is clearly indicated in line 26 where it is said:

In the pure place, no water flowed,
In the city no water was poured out.

Without water, life cannot exist, vegetation cannot spring up. The total absence of human activity is again indicated in the following lines in poetical fashion, after which the goddess Ninella—represented at once as the daughter and consort of Enki—appeals to the latter to supply the 'city' which he has

⁴² So Prince suggests (JAOS 36. 96). The verbs at the ends of the lines 19-21 are broken off or doubtful.

⁴³ See for a full discussion the article in AJSL.

⁴⁴ Parallel poetic phrases in Sumerian productions will be found in my article in AJSL.

founded with drinking water in abundance.⁴⁵ The 'city' is equated with the locality X in which Enki and Ninella dwell and the wish is expressed that the 'city' and 'place may drink water in abundance' and become the 'house of the gathering place of the land.' The 'city' as in the 'Eridu' version is conceived merely as a place to be inhabited. Wherever a god dwells there is a 'city,' of which the god is the patron, and where he is worshiped. The 'house' is the temple, as at once the home of the god and the sanctuary to which worshipers come to pay their homage. 'Land,' 'city,' and 'temple' are thus regarded as synonymous terms, as in the 'Eridu' version. The request of Ninella is granted, and in further sequence the coming of the waters is pictured as the result of a union between the god and the goddess, designated in this episode as Nintu 'the mother of the land,' her name signifying the 'lady of birth.'⁴⁶ The result is a rich vegetation, poetically described as⁴⁷

Like fat, like fat, like rich cream,
Nintu, the mother of the land, brought forth.

With the further episodes in this interesting text in which the drenching of the fields is twice again described we are not concerned, but merely with the view of Beginnings as set forth in the first two columns. This view has such points in common with the 'Eridu' version as to make it evident that the two belong to the same order and reflect the same climatic conditions. They must have originated in a region where water was not plentiful and where as a consequence vegetation and life are associated with the coming on of the rainy season. The world, therefore, is pictured as beginning in the fall when the rains set in, and

⁴⁵ Lines 31 to Col. ii, 10. The closing lines of Col. i are broken off. On this double relationship of Ninella (elsewhere designated as Damgalnunna (col. ii, 31) and Nintu (col. ii, 21), see my article in *AJSL*. The conception is met with elsewhere. If a male deity is pictured as the starting-point of the universe, the first goddess is produced by him and becomes his consort; she is, therefore, daughter and wife. If a female deity is the starting-point, she produces a son who becomes her husband. So, e. g., Ishtar and Tammuz.

⁴⁶ On the significance of this symbolism, the rain as the seed of the god poured into the womb of the goddess as 'Mother Earth,' see the article in *AJSL*, where parallels from other sources are adduced.

⁴⁷ Col. ii, 43-46.

not in the spring when the storms and rains cease. Such a condition is apt to prevail in mountainous districts where the streams are low or entirely dried up in the dry season and depend upon the rains to fill them again, in contrast to a mountainless plain like the Euphrates Valley, where the streams, fed from their sources, flow in abundance during the entire year and during the rainy season overflow and cause inundations.

Enki and his consort are described as dwelling in a mountain. Naturally, the old Sumerian tales of Beginnings were modified when the Sumerians left their mountain homes to come to the Euphrates Valley. Instead of the locality X in the mountains, the old cities in which the Sumerians established themselves, and more particularly Eridu at the head of the great body of water, became the scene of action. Enki, himself, whose name signifying 'The lord of the land' (or more vaguely 'place') becomes a water-deity and is identified with Ea whose home is the 'great deep,' i. e. the *Apsû*. A contrast is set up between the 'bitter waters' of the *Apsû*, and the sweet, drinkable waters of the streams; and in other ways the old myth is modified, indications of which are to be seen in Langdon's text and become more pronounced in the 'Eridu' version. The final upshot of the process is the grafting of the 'Akkadian' view of Beginnings upon the 'Sumerian' conception as we find it in the composite production, *Cuneiform Texts*, 13, pl. 35-38. In thus distinguishing between Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings, many passages in the somewhat mixed conceptions held of Enki-Ea become clearer. It has always been puzzling to find him addressed by two names, conveying such contradictory points of view as 'a god of the land' and a god whose 'house,' i. e. his dwelling-place, is the 'water,'⁴⁸ and which leads to making him the *Lugal-zu-ab* or *Šar apsi*, 'king of the deep,' or the 'Lugal-Du-Azagga,' 'king of the holy habitation'—a synonym of the 'deep.' In long lists of the names and attributes of Ea, e. g., *Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14-15, we find designations that belong to a water-god such as *Lugal-id-da*, 'king of streams' (line 23), by the side of others like *Dug-gā-bur*, 'potter' (line 41 and 43), which point to a land deity. The frequent association of Enki-Ea

⁴⁸ Conveyed by the two signs E = 'house' and a 'water,' whether this be the correct etymology or merely a play on the name.

with the working of metals⁴⁹ likewise is more appropriate to a god whose home is in the mountains where metals are found, than to a god who dwells in the waters. The symbolism on Boundary Stones where Enki-Ea is represented as a ram's head, alternating or combined with a goat-fish,⁵⁰ may perhaps be explained in the same way as due to a combination of two different conceptions. However the combination of Enki with Ea is to be accounted for, so much at least is clear that Enki represents originally the Sumerian 'land' deity, who as the earliest god is naturally viewed as the creator of the universe. He becomes in this capacity the En-An-Ki, 'the lord of heaven and earth' (*Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14, 18), and the Nu-Dim-Mut, the general 'artificer' (line 19), whereas Ea is distinctively a conception that reflects conditions as they existed in the Euphrates Valley and must have originated in that region. We cannot go so far as to assert that the name is of 'Akkadian' origin (in which case the writing *E-a*, 'house of water,' would be an etymological 'play'), but we may say that the Sumerians did not know of Ea till they settled in the land of the 'Akkadians.' They added to the 'land' and mountain 'deity' the distinction of being also the lord of the Deep, and in that capacity called him Ea.

V

There is another aspect of the contrast between the Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings that should be here considered, namely, the bearings of the thesis here brought forth on the remarkably similar contrast between the two accounts of creation in the Book of Genesis, the so-called P document, Gen. 1-2. 4^a and the J account Gen. 2. 4^b-25. The P document pictures the beginning of things as a time when the Tehôm, i. e. the watery element (Tiamat) covered everything—a time of lawlessness expressed by the famous phrase *Tohû Wa-Bohû*. The

⁴⁹ See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1. 176 and 293, where other designations of Ea in his capacity as the patron of the metal workers will be found, including Nin-Kur, lord of the mountains. In this capacity he is called Nin-igi-langa-gid (*Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14, 38).

⁵⁰ See the list in Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I*, p. 241.

earth is submerged beneath the waters, and when these are gathered into one place the earth appears covered with verdure, whereupon vegetation follows. Then order is established in the universe by placing the sun and moon in control of the regulation of time and seasons—very much as in the Akkadian version,⁵¹ though with the modifications called for to adapt the old nature myth to an advanced monotheistic conception of creation and of Divine government. The world begins with the drying up of the waters and the cessation of storms and rain in the spring. In the J Document—the older of the two—the picture is just the reverse. The earth exists, but it is empty. There is no life in it—‘no one to till the ground,’ because no rain had fallen upon it. It is only after the earth is drenched⁵² that vegetation appears, preparing the earth to sustain human and animal life. The world, therefore, begins with the coming of the rainy season, i. e. in the fall, precisely as in the Sumerian view of Beginnings.⁵³ As between the two Biblical versions, the one in the J document fits in with climatic conditions in the interior of Palestine—a mountainous region with only one large river and with smaller streams and brooks that are very low or entirely empty in the dry season. The welfare of the population is dependent upon the fall and winter rains—the early and the late rains. Hence in the Jewish ritual, as developed in post-exilic days, the prayer is inserted at the time of the harvest festival that the early and late rains may fall in abundance.⁵⁴ The P version, on the other hand, reflects so unmistakably the conditions in Babylonia that there can be no doubt of its being an importation, superimposed through the sojourn of large bodies of Jews in that region after the fall of the Southern Hebrew monarchy. It follows that the traditional celebration of the

⁵¹ Tablet V.

⁵² The puzzling *ed* of Gen. 2. 6 conveys in some way the notion of a thorough drenching of the soil.

⁵³ It is only proper to add that Professor Sayce was the first to suggest an analogy between this Biblical version and the Sumerian point of view (*Expository Times*, November, 1915), though I had reached my conclusions independently before Sayce's article came into my hands. Note the curious resemblance in construction between Gen. 2. 5 ‘plant of the field had not yet sprouted, herb of the field had not yet grown’ and the opening lines of the ‘Eridu’ version (p. 286, above).

⁵⁴ Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*, p. 123 *seq.* and p. 130 *seq.*

Jewish New Year in the fall of the year, still maintained in the orthodox ritual of today, is older than the Jewish calendar which begins the official year with the first spring month. The calendar is due to direct borrowing from Babylonia, as is recognized in the Talmud.⁵⁵ Therefore, such a statement as that the month of the Exodus from Egypt is to be reckoned as the first of the months⁵⁶ even though the older name of the month is given,⁵⁷ along with the specific designation of the seventh month as the New Year's time,⁵⁸ is to be found in the P document and reflects the same influences that are betrayed in P's version of creation. To avoid the inconsistency of celebrating a 'New Year's day' at the beginning of the seventh month, P avoids the designation New Year (רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה) and calls the festival זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה 'Memorial of the Trumpet Sound,'⁵⁹ or יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, 'Day of the Trumpet Sound.' He clearly has a purpose in doing so,⁶⁰ but popular tradition, which is always stronger than official doctrine, maintained the designation רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה for the established celebration of the New Year in the fall.⁶¹ Does it follow that, because the P version of creation betrays direct evidence of having been introduced into Genesis under influences emanating from Babylonia, the older J version is to be brought into direct connection with the Sumerian View of Beginnings? Hardly, for in view of the wide-spread tendency to evolve creation myths and tales among people everywhere after a certain stage of culture had been reached, when man's sense of curiosity is aroused as to how this world in which he lives, and how the larger universe above him came into being, it would be natural for the inhabitants of Palestine to produce a conception of Beginnings that would reflect climatic conditions prevailing in that country. The J version would, therefore, be the

⁵⁵ Talmud Yerushalmi, Rosh ha-Shana 1. 1.

⁵⁶ Exodus 12. 2.

⁵⁷ Ex. 13. 4; 23. 15; 34. 18; also Deut. 16. 1, which appears to be the source for the last two passages in Exodus.

⁵⁸ Lev. 23. 24.

⁵⁹ Num. 29. 1.

⁶⁰ Ezekiel 40. 1, however, uses the phrase—the only occurrence in the O. T., but even here the Greek text has 'first month.'

⁶¹ See further on this point Paul Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes*, p. 10 *seq.*

indigenous one;⁶² the P, the borrowed one. The analogies presented by the former with the Sumerian view would be due to similar climatic conditions in the districts in which they arose. The theory of direct borrowing in the case of the J version is also excluded by the predominance of the Akkadian version in Babylonian literature, leading as we have seen to attempts to adapt the old Sumerian myths to the Akkadian point of view and of which some illustrations have been given.

Traces of the Sumerian view, however, survived in Babylonian Literature,⁶³ and if the above endeavor to differentiate between

⁶² According to the fragment of the old Canaanitish 'agricultural' calendar found in Gezer (*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1909, p. 31) the year began in the fall. The old Persian year likewise began in the fall but was afterwards—so in the Avesta—transferred to the spring, no doubt again under Babylonian influence. See Jackson, 'Iranische Religion,' in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2. 877. Similarly, the ancient Arabs, who under foreign influences transferred the older New Year's period from the fall to the spring (Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 99).

⁶³ There are, in fact, some indications that the seventh month was at one time regarded in Babylonia like Nisan as 'the beginning of the year.' See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* 2. 462, in the discussion of an explanatory comment to an official report of the appearance of the new moon. The Babylonians may have had, like the Jews, two 'calendars,' an official one beginning in the spring and a 'religious' one beginning in the fall. If so, the latter would be a trace of the older Sumerian view which, as we have seen, would have led to beginning the year in the fall. The name for the seventh month *tašritu* which has the force of 'beginning' (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1201^b) likewise points in this direction. The Sumerian designation of this month Du-Azagga = 'holy habitation' is a direct reference to the place where Enki and his consort at the beginning of things dwell; and it is interesting to note as a further trace of the Sumerian view localizing this holy place in a 'mountain,' (and not in the Euphrates Valley), that in a bilingual hymn (Rawlinson V., pl. 50, 5*) Du-Azagga is equated with *šadû*, 'mountain,' further described as *Ki Nam-tar-tar-ri-e-ne* = *ašar simātum*, 'place of fates.' The name Du-Azagga thus appears to be a direct allusion to a 'Sumerian' myth, such as we have in the two Sumerian versions of Beginnings above analyzed. The designation of Nabu as the god of the Du-Azagga, 'holy habitation,' (Brünnow, no. 9609) is of course a late transfer of the attributes of Enki-Ea at a time when Enki had become a 'water-god,' and the Du-Azagga had been identified with the *apsû* or 'deep.'

The assumption of 'two' calendars is nothing unusual. The Rabbis, in fact, recognize 'four' New Year periods: (1) 1st of Nisan as 'civil,' for dating reigns of rulers and for festivals; (2) 1st of Tishri for reckon-

the Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings is correct, we would have also a valuable criterion for distinguishing, in the conceptions connected with Enki-Ea, as in the case of other distinctly Sumerian deities like Enlil, and in the transfer of the attributes of such gods as Enki and Enlil to the later head of the Babylonian pantheon Marduk, between traits that reflect the original nature of these deities, and such as are due to the natural process in transferring conceptions of gods belonging to a mountainous people with the climatic and economic conditions appertaining thereto, to become the protective Powers of an agricultural population, dwelling in a region in which water was plentiful.

ing time and as the agricultural New Year; (3) 1st of Elul (sixth month) for tithing cattle; and (4) 1st (or 15th) of Shebat (eleventh month), the New Year for trees (Talmud Babli, Rosh ha-Shana, 1 a).

Finally, the order of the months in the older Babylonian calendar, in force during the Sargon period and in the Ur dynasty, points to a year beginning in August-September. See Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, 2. 174 seq. This would reflect the Sumerian point of view, whereas the change during the Hammurapi period to a calendar beginning the year with the first spring month would be due to the assertion of Akkadian influence. It may be that as a consequence of the mixture of two different points of view 'two' calendars continued to be recognized, at least for a time, the older one surviving in the cult and the later one becoming the official calendar for dated documents and the like. The relationship between the older and later Babylonian calendars is, however, a subject that requires further investigation.

Iranian Views of Origins in connection with Similar Babylonian Beliefs.—By ALBERT J. CARNOY, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In his notable article 'Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings' Professor Jastrow calls attention to the marked contrast between the cosmologies of the two races that met in Chaldea. In the view of the Sumerians there is not even an approach to a creation. The existence of the earth, of rivers, mountains, and even cities, is assumed, as cities are above all the dwelling-places of the gods and a god is not conceivable without a dwelling. Life then comes on Earth through the introduction of water and irrigation. Man also results from a union between the water-gods. According to the conception of the Akkadians, on the other hand, the watery deep is disorder, and the cosmos, the order of the world, is due to the victory of a god of light and spring over the monster of winter and water; man is directly made by the gods.

Myths have an essentially migratory existence. They are very easily transferred from one nation to its neighbors. When they are not taken over as a whole, they often exert an influence on the original traditions of the other peoples. It may therefore prove of value to examine the ideas of the Iranians regarding the beginnings of things, to endeavor to disentangle the original myths from the intricacies of Mazdean tradition, and to compare the Iranian accounts with both Sumerian and Akkadian stories, in order to establish to how great an extent Chaldean beliefs have influenced, in this respect, the views of the neighboring Aryans of Persia. The necessity of such an inquiry seemed to me the more urgent because, according to the views that I laid out in an article published in the *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1917, the ideas of Chaldeans concerning gods and morality exerted a decisive influence on the religion of the Indo-Iranians at a very early period.

I

SUMERIAN VIEWS ON BEGINNINGS

The Sumerian account of Beginnings centers around the production by the gods of water, Enki and his consort Nin-ella (or

Dangal), of a great number of canals bringing rain to the desolate fields of a dry continent. Life both of vegetables and animals follows the profusion of the vivifying waters. There is a central sea into which the channels and rivers converge. This sea is, of course, the Persian Gulf, which was considered to be the 'confluence of streams'¹ and was the object of a special reverence as sacred to Enki.² In that process, a mountain also seems to have played a part, judging from the efforts made by Sumerians in the Chaldean plain to make up for the absence of mountains by erecting staged towers. The legend appears thus to have originated not in the watery valley of the Euphrates but on the shore of the Persian Gulf in a dry country in the vicinity of mountains. In the process of life's production besides Enki, the personality of his consort is very conspicuous. She is called *Nin-Ella*, 'the pure Lady,' *Damgal-Nunna*, the 'great Lady of the Waters,' *Nin-Tu*, 'the Lady of birth.' She is both daughter and wife to Enki and it would appear that from their union, a child was born who was to be the ancestor of mankind, according to Prof. Jastrow's interpretation of a recently discovered tablet published by Langdon under the title *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*. In later traditions, the personality of that Great Lady seems to have been overshadowed by that of Ishtar, who absorbed several of her functions.

It is most natural to compare the Sumerian story of the introduction of water on Earth with the Iranian account of the creation of waters. The fifth Yasht tells us that Mazdāh has created the waters. They converge into the sea Vourukasha, 'ocean with large gulfs,' that covers one-third of the earth, in the direction of the southern limit of the mythical mountain Hara Berezaiti, 'the high Hara,' later identified with Mt. Alburz, but in reality merely mythical. So wide it is that it contains the water of a thousand gulfs. It has a thousand outlets. Those outlets are of various sizes. Some are great, some are small, some are so large that a man with a horse should compass them around in forty days (Yt. 5. 1, 4).

All waters continuously flow from the source Ardvī Sūra Anāhita. There are a hundred thousand golden channels and

¹ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 577.

² *Ib.* p. 597.

the water, warm and clear, goes through the channels towards mount Hūgar, the lofty. On the summit of that mountain is lake Urvis, 'the turmoil'; into that lake the water flows, becomes quite purified and comes back through a different golden channel. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with the sea Vourukasha, from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, and another portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of the earth and all the creatures of Mazda acquire health from it and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere. And there are three large salt seas and twenty-three small. Of the three, Pūitika (Persian Gulf) is the largest, in which there is a flow and ebb.

The great spring Ardvī Sūra Anāhita is the life-increasing, the herd-increasing, the fold-increasing who makes prosperity for all countries (Yt. 5. 1). It runs powerfully down to the sea Vourukasha. All the shores of that sea are boiling over when it plunges foaming down there, with its thousand gulfs and its thousand channels.

Now, it is very interesting to note that that precious spring is worshiped as a goddess, and, in contrast with the other deities of Iran, is personified under the appearance of a handsome and stately woman. She is a fair maid, most strong, tall of form, high-girded. Her arms are white and thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker. She is full of gracefulness. She wears shoes up to the ankle with all sorts of ornaments and radiants (Yt. 5. 7, 64, 78).

This seems to point to the existence of material representations of the goddess, something very un-Aryan and the borrowing of that goddess from Chaldean people has been suggested. Prof. Cumont³ thinks that Anāhita is Ishtar and this is indeed the view of several scholars. This view is not unfounded, since much emphasis is laid on the part of Anāhita as a goddess of fecundation and birth.⁴ Moreover in Achaemenian inscriptions Anāhita is associated with Ahura Mazdāh and Mithra, a triad corresponding to the Chaldean triad: Sin—Shamash—Ishtar. 'Ανάιτις in Strabo⁵ and other Greek writers is treated as an Ἀφροδίτη.

³ *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, p. 217.

⁴ Yt. 5. 2, 5, etc.

⁵ Strabo 15. 3, 15. Cf. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 100.

And indeed the identification of Anāhita with Ishtar in the minds of both Chaldeans and Persians seems unquestionable. One may, however, wonder whether the great importance taken in Chaldea by Ishtar at the expense of other deities has not contributed in connecting with that goddess a story that resembles closely the Sumerian account of the production of life through the expansion of waters in which the acting female deity is Enki's consort, Damgal. It is indeed striking to compare the name of the Iranian goddess with that of the Sumerian Lady: the pure Lady, the Great Lady of Waters, the Lady of birth. *Ardivi Sūra Anāhita* means indeed the Great (or tall) pure (spotless) Lady. She presides over the production of life just in the same way as Damgal: 'I, Ahura Mazdāh, I have created Anāhita to secure prosperity to house, village, district and the whole country.'⁶ Anāhita secures abundance of cattle, joy, and success. Moreover Anāhita is also the Lady of birth because she secures fecundation: '(Anāhita) who purifies the sperm of males, who purifies the wombs of females to bring forth, who makes childbirth easy to women, who gives to mothers milk as required by time and circumstances.'⁷

Thus, when the Iranians borrowed from neighboring people that story which plays an important part in their myths, it was still very close to its Sumerian form.

There is among Iranians another legend in which waters and rain appear as blessings and help in the constitution of the world. It is that the victory of Tishtrya (Sirius) over Apaosha (demon of drought) brought about a deluge that purified creation from all kinds of evil germs deposited by Ahriman; but that story is connected with other groups of myths: the Akkadian story of the deluge and the storm-night of the Indo-Iranians.

The connection of water with plants is also exemplified by the good rain of Ameretatāt (immortality) in which the germs of plants were mixed with water so that after that rain, plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. This, however, is a late story, but older is the myth of the tree Gaokerena, containing the seeds of all plants, with their disease-killing properties, a tree of immortality and growing in the midst of the sea Vourukasha. That tree is attacked by a water-lizard of Ahriman. This legend preserves traces both of the Indo-European drink of

⁶ Yt. 5. 6.

⁷ Yt. 5. 2.

immortality (the celestial *haoma* or *soma*), and of the belief of Semites about the tree of life and the dragon of the deep. It is more desirable to consider this in connection with the myths treated in the next chapter.

II

AKKADIAN VIEWS ON BEGINNINGS

The Akkadian account of the origins of things centers, as we have said, around the myth of the struggle of a god of light against a monster living in the watery and chaotic Deep, called *Tiāmat* in Babylonian records. The meaning of the story is that the world was produced by a victory of order over chaos. The part of the great gods was to introduce order. The victory of order is symbolized in the conquest of the tablets of fate, by which gods preside over order.

Tiāmat had many associates, great serpents and furious vipers (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 414). In the form of the narrative that is found in cuneiform tablets, *Marduk* assails the monster with a most powerful weapon that seems to be the thunderbolt. He is also helped by winds. This cosmologic myth is indeed in its origin a storm myth (Jastrow, p. 429). Anyhow, for Akkadians, life cannot be produced until a dry land emerges from a watery deep or a sun god conquers a cloud monster or causes a rain or a winter to cease. Man comes last into the world. He is made by gods, by *Ea* or more often by *Bel*. He is made by a deliberate act of the gods. *Bel* is said, for example, to have taken blood from his head to make man.

There are, however, traces of a man being generated from a union between a sun-god, e. g. *Tammuz*, and *Ishtar* as the Great Mother (Mother Earth), though originally this seems to have been a vegetation myth.

Though one hardly finds among Iranian myths any direct and wholesale borrowing from those Akkadian legends, as seems to have been the case with the Sumerian story of the Great Lady of the Waters, it is a fact that all the typical features of that second layer of Chaldean traditions is discoverable in Iranian mythology, and in many cases it seems undeniable that the primitive traditions of that Indo-European people have been seriously modified and enriched by borrowings or syncretisms under the influence of the abundant store of Chaldean myths.

The fact that one does not find exact equivalents of the stories does not in the least diminish the importance of the coincidences in the main features. It is indeed a well-known tendency of tales both to repeat themselves with other names and to assimilate features belonging originally to other stories. The durable element is to be found in typical incidents. The mere internal development of Persian traditions provides a decisive demonstration of that statement. The story of Keresaspa, for instance, takes a very important place in Middle Persian times. In the Avesta, it is only occasionally alluded to. One reports the slaying of dragons by Keresaspa, the son of Thrita Athwya, while Thraetaona (Farīdūn), who is also a son of Thrita Athwya, is the hero of the typical story of the slaying of a dragon, the myth of Azhi Dahāka. Keresaspa appears therefore to be a mere doublet of the other hero. In Pahlavi books an extensive literature is devoted to the exploits of Gurshisp (Keresaspa), the hero with the club. His epic has accrued from several episodes of various origin, most of them stories of contests with monsters and elements. In the *Shāh Nāmāh*, Gurshisp has again faded away and his mere name is preserved in the person of a very inconspicuous king, while his exploits are attributed to heroes who are mere duplicates of his own person. His club is now in the hands of Rustam, who has replaced him as a fiend-slayer. His epithet *Sāma* has been detached so as to become a grandfather of Rustam, Sām; while his other name *Narīman* has been made the great-grandfather of the same warrior. Moreover, the Babylonian story of the marvelous birth of Etana's son and of an eagle who takes him to a mountain has now been introduced into that cycle of legends and given to them another aspect. That eagle itself is a feature inherited from the time when those legends of fiend-slaying heroes, both Aryan and Semitic, were mere storm-myths. Thus the actors of the drama and the disposition of the dramatic machinery vary continually but the essential elements remain: a hero engaged in fights against terrific monsters, who slays them with a club.

The idea pervading all Akkadian stories connected with the production of the world is that there cannot be any world nor any life unless it be submitted to a rule, a law of order. The blind and dark tendencies of the unrestrained elements toward disorder personified in the form of shapeless and devour-

ing monsters have thus to be conquered by the gods of light and order. The same conception is at the basis of Mazdean cosmogony and philosophy.

In both Chaldean and Iranian accounts of creation, one finds a successive introduction of order. The various elements of the world and the living creatures appear in succession. In the narrative of the *Būndahishn*,^{*} Ormazd first produces the celestial sphere and the stars, then provides the earth with fertilizing waters running from the central sea Vourukasha, and next to that divides the earth into various countries separated by mountains that center around Ilara Berezaiti. Then appear the plants, healing and feeding. They receive their properties from the famous Gaokerena-tree, that presides over the development of vegetation. Then fire comes, which in the ideas of that time was supposed to come from wood because it was produced by rubbing sticks against one another. The king of fires is the Bahrām fire, or sacred fire. Then the animal world is produced in the form of a bull, the prototype of animal life out of which all other animals are brought forth. In the same way the first man Gaya in dying becomes the father of the human race, as will be explained below. In such a way the whole creation is realized and each part of it springs forth from a prototype. The idea seems to have been carried out in artificial systematization. That same philosophical conception has generated the theory of the ideal prototypes (*fravashī*) of things, that are supposed to have first emanated from Mazdāh, so as to be realized later in the actual creation, a conception pretty near to that of Plato's *idéai*.

Mazdāh is considered primarily as the one who regulated the order of the world. In a fine passage of the *Gāthās* (Ys. 44. 3), for example, we read: 'This I ask thee, says Zoroaster, tell me in truth O Lord: (1) Who was the first originator and the father of Justice? Who gave to the sun and the stars their path, who made the moon to wax and to wane . . . (2) Who gave a foundation to the Earth and to the Clouds so that they would not fall, who created water and plants, who gave swiftness to clouds and wind, who is the creator of the Good-Spirit (Vohu-Manah) . . . (3) Who is the benefactor who made light and darkness, who is the benefactor who made sleep and waking? Who made morning, mid-day, and night, that remind the wise of their duties?'

^{*} *Būndahishn* 1. 21 ff. and the following chapters.

This passage is very typical of Mazdean conceptions. The separation of light from darkness, the association of water with plants are essential features of their cosmology. Besides, one finds here the continuous association of the material order with the moral one: the same law that presides over the movement of sun and moon provides for justice among men.

The good order in the elements is reflected in mind by a well-ordained soul (Vohu-Manah) and the recurrence of night and day must be matched by the regularity of man in his religious duties. The same ideas are found in the Vedas, and both for Iranians and Indians there corresponds to the path of the sun the path that man has to follow if he is to reach a successful end.

The same word (Skr. *rta*, Iran. *arta* or *asha*) expresses both cosmic and moral order, and that conception is absolutely essential both in the Vedas and in Mazdeism. The great gods who preside over human life and conduct, Varuṇa-Mitra and Mazdāh-Mithra, are the enhancers of that essential law. It does not exclude human freedom, but in its general aspect it resembles very much the *moira* of the Greeks. What is *κατὰ μοῖραν* for Homer is not so much ordained by fate but in conformity with the right order of things. But the resemblance, so it seems, is greater still with the Babylonian idea of the order to be introduced into the world by the gods of light through the conquest of the tablets of fate, symbolizing the great law presiding over cosmic and human events, a law that cannot fall into unworthy hands—as was the case with Zu—without imperiling the existence of the world and of men. Shamash, like Mithra, is the maintainer of Justice and Law and at the same time produces order and stability in the world.

That law for the Aryans is often identified with the will, the command of Varuṇa or of Mazdāh. Varuṇa is the god of inflexible commands, and for Semites Sin plays the same part, as appears particularly in a hymn quoted by Prof. Jastrow (*op. cit.* p. 303): 'Lord, who directs destinies for distant days, strong chief, who from the foundation of Heaven till the zenith passes along in brilliancy opening the door of Heaven, preparing the fate of humanity, Lord, proclaiming the decision of Heaven and Earth, whose command is not set aside . . . When thy strong command is established on the earth, vegetation

sprouts forth. Thy strong command produces right and proclaims justice to mankind . . .'

The admirable conception of the *arta* is probably superior to all that is to be found in Babylonian religion and philosophy, and gives proof of an exalted mentality among the Indo-Iranians.¹ This does not, however, preclude the fecundation of Aryan thought on this point by the contact with their neighbors at a very early period. But this is beyond the scope of the present study. What interests us more particularly is the association in Iran of the *arta* with the *hvarenah*, or 'glory' that enables kings to rule according to order and justice (cf. the Persian name 'Αρταφέρης, 'the man who has the *hvarenah* [Pers. *farna*] of Justice'). This *hvarenah* may not fall into wicked hands, or the world is disturbed and desolated. It is thanks to the *hvarenah* that Yima maintained order and peace in the world during the Golden Age. He was robbed of it by the dragon Azhi Dahāka, who brought the world into confusion and distress until Farīdūn (Av. Thraētaona) conquered that fiend and restored order and prosperity by taking hold of the *hvarenah*. Other struggles are recorded as having taken place for the possession of the *hvarenah*, the most typical being the great effort made by the Ahrimanic Afraśyāb (Av. Frangrasyan) to seize that miraculous power.

In his fight with Uzava, that fiend is supposed to have detained the rivers and desolated Iran by drought. He is thus a water or cloud-dragon detaining the waters of the great sea (Vourukasha). He is supposed to live in an iron stronghold in the depths of the earth. There he conceived the desire of seizing the *hvarenah* of Yima that had escaped Zaḥḥak and had taken refuge in the midst of the sea Vourukasha.² He stripped himself naked and swam to catch it, but the Glory fled away and an arm of the sea, called Lake Haosravah, resulted from the movement of the water. He renewed his effort, but each time a new gulf was formed and all was in vain. Then the crafty Turanian rushed out of the sea, with evil words on his lips. He uttered a curse and said: 'Since I have not been able to conquer that Glory of the Aryan beings, I will defile all that is solid and fluid, all that is great, good, and fair, and Ahura Mazdāh will be afraid at the evil that I will produce.' But he was made a prisoner by

¹ Yt. 9. 56.

Haoma and finally killed by Haosravah (Kaī Khosrū) in his cave. The wars between Afrasyāb and the Iranians occupy an important portion of the Shāh Nāmāh, where they have assumed a completely epic character.

It is difficult not to compare such a story with the efforts of Zu in Babylonian myths to secure the so-called tablets of fate, that would give him full power over the world. There ensues a great struggle between Zu and Marduk, who finally takes hold of the tablets and reintroduces order into the world.

Like all fundamental ideas in a creed, the notion of order was apt to be repeated under several forms, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in Zoroastrian ethics we find in Ārmaiti another aspect of good conduct and order. It is 'practical wisdom' (Plutarch translates it by σοφία), ethical as well as religious, keeping man from all abuses, from presumption (ἰσχυρς), and from idleness and disorder. It is the spirit of settled and active life, bringing prosperity in honesty, the spirit of civilization and wisdom against barbarism, disorder, and ignorance. The *aramati* of the Vedas, that was merely 'piety, accuracy in the observance of the ritual,' has thus assumed in Iran quite a new character. Moreover, she is there also an earth-goddess. She is both agriculture as the occupation of civilized people and the fruit-bearing earth. As will be shown below, she has therefore embodied the conceptions connected with the Earth as a mother of creatures, but besides, she appears in Armenia as Sandarmatkh (Spenta Ārmaiti), a collective designating the abysses (γῆ κάτω, Ezech. 31. 16; see Hübschmann, *Armen. Grammatik*, 1. 73). At the same time she is protector of agriculture, so that her name in the singular (*Spandaramet*) is used to translate Διόνυσος. This shows that into all those ideas there have slipped conceptions connected with the Chaldean god Ea and his associates. Ea inhabits the subterranean deep and is, at the same time, the source of wisdom and culture. He is more properly the personification of wisdom while his intimate associate Bel, more properly god of earth, impersonates practical wisdom.¹⁰ Berosus alludes to those conceptions when he speaks of Oannes, a mythical being coming out of the waters of the abyss to give instruction to the people until then steeped in barbarism.¹¹

¹⁰ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 104.

¹¹ Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 137.

In contrast with the deities of order and brilliance, disorder for Babylonians was impersonated in the monstrous *Tiāmat*. To establish order, *Marduk* struck the serpent with a weapon which apparently was a thunderbolt. Prof. Jastrow shows with much probability that the primeval contest is a storm-myth transferred to the origins of the world. It is a fact that there is almost a replica of *Tiāmat's* story in the storm-myth of *Zu*. In this tale birds and bulls play a part as symbols of storm and clouds. *Zu* himself is a bird. He is a kind of arch-Satan, worker of evil. One day he endeavored to break loose from the control of the sun. A storm, indeed, was viewed as a conflict between the clouds and the sun. In one form of the myth the contest takes place between *En-lil* and *Zu*. *En-lil* holds in his possession the tablets of fate by means of which he enjoys supreme authority over men and gods. *Zu* is jealous and he plans to take the tablets from the gods. The same tablets, as we have said, play an important part in the *Tiāmat-Marduk* contest. The monster *Kingu*, symbol of Chaos, was wearing them on his breast, but was obliged to yield them to the god of light who replaced Chaos by order. In the contest with *Zu*, the forces of disorder are let loose to such an extent that the tablets fall, for a moment, into *Zu's* hands.

There are in the *Veda* a good many descriptions of fights on high. They are essentially storm-myths describing the phenomena of the storm. It is an old myth, common to all Indo-European people, and there is no reason to believe that it has been borrowed from Semites. Storm-myths arise all over the world. In Indo-European myths, the object of the contest is generally the conquest of the waters, which are imprisoned by a dragon and which after the conquest of the monster, flow over the earth. Sometimes the waters are compared to cows imprisoned in a mountain. Also the fire of heaven is represented as produced on high and brought to earth by a bird or by a daring human being.

Thus the production of water is the end of the crisis with the Indo-Europeans who in India and Iran lived in countries where rain is rare. In Chaldea, on the contrary, as Prof. Jastrow observes, there is plenty of water and storms are violent and destructive so that the victory of light and order over darkness and disorder is especially emphasized in the myth and is operated by the conquest of the tablets. In Iran a contamination of both

conceptions has taken place. The relation to demons of Yima the brilliant, the king of the golden age, is very much that of order to disorder and of light to darkness. Yima has subjugated the *daēvas* and their imps. He has taken from them all glory (Yt. 19. 31). He has trained them for his service (Shāh Nāmah 5. 26). As long as Yima is a king with the kingly glory (*hvare-nah*), so long do order, virtue, and prosperity prevail.

Also the cosmogony of the Mazdeans begins with a struggle between Mazdāh, the god of light and order, and the Evil Spirit, the god of darkness, *Angra Mainyu*. The latter rushed from the abyss like a snake¹² to destroy Mazdāh's good creation. A conflict ensued during which the Evil Spirit was struck by Mazdāh and fell back into darkness. Theological speculation has transformed that dragon story inasmuch as the weapon of Mazdāh has been said to have been the all-powerful prayer of the Ahuna Vairya (Honover) and the one great conflict has been made into a series of onrushes of Ahriman against Ormazd's successive creations. Also, the issue of the fight is supposed to remain undecided until the end of the world.

Among the innumerable replicas of that dragon story is the attack on the tree of life: 'From all the germs of plants the tree of all seeds was given forth and grew up in the middle of the sea Vourukasha and it caused all species of plants to increase. Near to that tree of all seeds, the Gaokerena tree was produced to keep away decrepitude. It is to bring about the renovation of the universe and the immortality that will follow. Every one who eats it becomes immortal. It is the chief of plants.'¹³ The evil spirit formed a lizard in the deep water of Vourukasha, so that it might injure the Gaokerena.¹⁴

That story of a plant of life in a sea and of a serpent in the abyss savors, of course, very much of Semitism, at least in the data of the tale. A very similar form of that legend is to be found in the myth of Gandarewa and Keresaspa. The latter, the greatest slayer of dragons in Iranian mythology, as we have seen, slays the golden-heeled fiend on the sea-shore. This Iranian Gandarewa obviously is the same being as the Vedic

¹² This particular is to be found in the Būndahishn description (Būd. 3. 11). In Būd. 3. 9 the Evil Spirit is said to be a log-like lizard's body.

¹³ Būd. 1. 1. 5.

¹⁴ Būd. 18. 2.

Gandharva, a lord of the abyss who dwells in the waters or in the deep regions of the sky, where he is hovering like a bright meteor. In the depth of the waters, he is courting the aqueous nymphs (Apsarases). He is a jealous guardian of the Soma and detains it so that Indra must fight against him for Soma as against Vṛtra for water. That Gandharva-myth possibly arose from a contamination between the Semitic story of the monster of the abyss and some Indo-European storm-myth.

It is curious to observe how that one theme of the contest between a strong (and luminous) hero and an all-devouring serpent has been repeated under various names in an endless series of Iranian stories.

The contest between the healing and beneficent god Thraētaona and the serpent Azhi Dahāka, that later became the victory of Faridūn over Zohhāk, the usurper of the kingly glory (*hvarenah*), is the classical form of that dragon story. In Yasht 19. 47-79 one has a long account of a similar fight between Ātar, the genius of fire, and that same Azhi Dahāka. Ātar aspires to the conquest of the *hvarenah* so that he might rule in the world, but Azhi, the three-mouthed dragon, rushes upon him and plans to secure that glory for himself so that fire might no more blaze upon the earth and protect the world of the faithful. A victory of Keresaspa over Sruvara is marked with the same essential features. Sruvara is a yellow and poisonous snake devouring men and houses. Keresaspa jumps on the dragon's back and finally slays it outright with his club.

That victory over the forces of disorder and destruction is expressed by the abstract noun *Verethraghna*, 'victory over aggression (*verethra*).' While the latter word is materialized in India in the person of Vṛtra, 'the adversary,' properly 'the aggression,' the name of the serpent conquered by Indra, the noun *verethraghna* has become in Iran the name of one more dragon slayer (*Vṛtra-han*, 'the killer of Vṛtra,' is in the Vedas an epithet of Indra) who in Armenia was raised to the dignity of the great national hero under the name of Vahakan. He is born in the ocean, masters Azhi and Vishapa¹⁵ (an epithet of the former in the Avesta), and fetters them on Mount Demavand. *Verethraghna*, being a generic name for any fiend-slayer, is said in Yt. 14 to appear under the most various forms: wind, bull,

¹⁵ Properly 'he whose saliva is poisonous.'

horse, boar, youth, bird, etc., all very well-known personifications of the storm-god.¹⁶

The myth of Tishtrya and Apaosha occupies a special position in this series. In this case, the storm-myth has been allied with a solar myth. Tishtrya is Sirius, the star of the dog-days. It is supposed to produce the long-wished-for summer rains after a period of drought during which the demon Apaosha, 'the concealer,' detains water. Tishtrya assumes the form of a white horse with golden ears and meets Apaosha, a black horse with bald ears. At first the victory belongs to Apaosha, but Tishtrya resumes the battle and finally conquers, so that water falls in abundance on the earth.

Mazdaism knows even of a deluge of Tishtrya, which is but the transfer into primeval times of the rain-myth. That deluge is supposed to have purified the world from all creatures produced by Ahriman prior to the coming of man. It is thus a beneficent deluge, in conformity with the spirit of the myth in which rain is considered to be a blessing, because it removes the awful scourge of drought in the countries of the Persian plateau.¹⁷

As to the origin of man, one also finds in Iranian tradition, beside Aryan myths, some stories and some features which recall either Sumerian or Akkadian ideas and though in some cases they may be mere coincidences, it is hardly disputable that Chaldean conceptions have crept into that chapter of Mazdean cosmogony.

The idea of a primitive man directly made by a god is Akkadian and happens to be also the prevalent conception in Zoroastrianism. Gaya Maretan, 'Human life,' is the name of that first man created from the sweat of Ormazd in the same way as, according to Berosus, Bel cut off his head and made man from his blood. Ahriman obstinately attacked Gaya in various ways, as he was a creature of Ormazd, and finally put him to death. From his body arose all minerals: gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, etc. Gold was Gaya's seed that was entrusted to the earth and precious kept by Spenta Armaiti, as the genius of Earth and

¹⁶ Cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 537.

¹⁷ The resemblance between Tishtrya, a name unexplained in Iranian, and the names of the summer-months in Babylonia—*Ishtar* (July), *Tishri* or *Tashritum* (August)—is probably merely fortuitous.

the mother of all creatures, and after forty years it brought forth the first human couple.

This myth is in close parallelism with the story of the primeval ox, killed by Mithra, from which sprang all herbs and all species of animals. The conception of the production of various beings out of the body of a primeval gigantic creature is fairly common in the mythology of various nations and is probably of Indo-European origin, since it is reproduced in the Scandinavian myth of the giant Ymir born from the icy chaos and from whose arm sprang both a man and a woman. He was then slain by Odin and his companions, and of the flesh of Ymir was formed the earth, of his blood the sea and the waters, of his bones the mountains, of his teeth the rocks and stones, of his hair all manner of plants.

To come back to the first pair, it is according to the myths either fallen from the moon or sprung out of a tree. The first conception seems to be Indo-European. The Slavs, indeed, say that the moon, wife of the sun, parted from him and fell in love with the morning star. She was then cut in two by the sword of Perkunas (storm-god) and thus gave birth to the primeval pair. With the Iranians, the seed of the primeval ox was also preserved in the moon and since Gaya's story is but a doublet of that of the ox, it is very likely that the human pair originally also sprang from the moon. In the actual story, the pair, as has been said, is born from the earth, fructified by Gaya's seed, and in this tale, there is evidently an influence of conceptions concerning Mother Earth.

But the prevalent opinion for Mazdeans is that the human pair was produced by a tree. Mashya and Mashyōi were united in a *rīvās*-plant in such a manner that their arms rested behind their shoulders. The tree grew up and brought forth fruits that were the ten varieties of men. The myth is certainly old and traces of it are discoverable in the myth of Yima, the first man (in Iran, the king of the Golden Age) who was sawn asunder in a tree.

In India, that same Yama revels with the gods in a tree. The traditions of various nations know of similar stories. In Greece, for example, the Corybants were born as trees, while Atthis sprang out of an almond tree and Adonis out of a myrtle. It is also to be compared with the myth of the tree of life of the Iranians, the Gaokerena.

With the production of mankind is connected the story of an incest. Yama and Yamī,¹⁸ the first human beings, according to the Indians, after some hesitation had intercourse and became the ancestors of the human race. To the Vedic Yama-Yamī twins, corresponds in Persia the couple Yima-Yimāk. Yimāk is a sister of Yima. There is some remembrance of a sexual perversion in Yimāk inasmuch as she has intercourse with demons, but the real story has been transferred to the Zoroastrian human twins, Mashya and Mashyōi. They also have a long hesitation before they agree to have sexual intercourse. Only after fifty years and when they had become hateful to Mazdāh did they remember their duty and after nine months begot children.

Stories of irregular sexual intercourse and especially of incest have arisen in Iran from conditions special to the first man or the first human pair. Either the marriage that generates mankind takes place between brother and sister (Yama-Yamī) or between father and daughter. The relationship of the primeval female to the primeval male of course varies according to the mythical conceptions in which they are involved and is often ambiguous. The Sumerians, for instance, who admit that the first human child results from a union between a god and a goddess, represent the mother-deity (Nin-Ella) both as a wife and as a daughter of Enki. Mythical or even mystical conceptions lead to these representations. The Iranians, for instance, see in Ārmaiti, 'piety, wisdom,' a daughter of Ahura Mazdāh. 'Mazdāh is the father of the active Vohu Manah, whereas his daughter is Ārmaiti (good mind, wisdom, piety) with her excellent works' (Ys. 45. 4). But often also Ārmaiti is the mother. So, e. g., in Yt. 17. 16 it is said of Ashi, 'recompense of the faithful,': 'Thy Father is Ahura Mazdāh, the greatest and the best of all Yazatas. Thy mother is Holy Ārmaiti. Thy brother is *Sraosha* (Discipline), the good, faithful to Asha, and the high and powerful Rashnu (Law, Right), as well as Mithra (god of Justice) . . . Thy sister is the Mazdean religion.' Ārmaiti here is practically a wife to Ormazd and is, in fact, called so in Visp. 3. 4, where she is mentioned with Religious Activity and Decision as Ormazd's wife (*ghenā*).

The symbolic meaning of those generations is clear enough, but that the people were conscious of some abnormality in them

¹⁸ Būd. 23. 1.

is shown by a passage quoted by West (SBE. 18. 415, App.): Spendarmat is said to be a female. She was sitting by the side of Auhrmazd and she had laid a hand on his neck and Zarthusht asked Auhrmazd about it, thus: 'Who is this that sits beside thee and thou wouldst be such a friend to her and she also would be such a friend to thee? Thou who art Auhrmazd turnest not thy eyes away from her and she not from thee. Thou who art Auhrmazd dost not release her from thy hand, and she does not release thee from her hand.' And Auhrmazd said: 'This is Spendarmat who is my daughter, the house mistress of my Heaven and mother of the creatures.' The fact is invoked in that book as a justification of *khvetukhdāh* or the next-of-kin (even incestuous) marriage as was recommended by late Mazdeism, probably under the influence of customs prevalent in kingly and aristocratic families.

It is to be observed not only that the mystical conception has been materialized but that a contamination evidently has taken place with the myth of the great Mother of Earth, that we have seen to be discoverable in some details of Iranian cosmogony and especially in the fact that Gaya's seed is entrusted to *Ārmaiti*, who is currently called the Mother of all creatures (SBE. 18. 415).

Finally, we find in Iran the traces of another conception, fairly common among men, by which man is supposed to be a god that has become mortal. The first man is the first god who died. This is the case, e. g., with the Indian Yama, the king of the *pitaras*, 'fathers,' assembling the flocks of the departed in a marvelous kingdom where there is neither cold nor suffering. That dwelling is in a remote part of the sky. He is the king of the people (*viś-pati*) and the father. He has found a way for many and along that path, he leads men into their last abode.

In Iran, that myth is well preserved as a whole but Yima (= Yama), having been replaced by Gaya Maretan as the first man, has become the king of the Golden Age. He also is an assembler of flocks. He has a recess (*vara*) in some remote part, where he is said to have assembled men in order to shelter them from cold during a dreadful and all-destroying winter inflicted on the world by the demon *Mahrkusha*. He also has followed a path towards the sun and so doing has found new countries for men. During his kingdom perfect happiness was man's lot, order and justice ruled, and the demons were held in

subjection. Unfortunately Yima, having committed a fault, was deprived of his kingly prestige and power (*hvarenah*) and of his radiant glory, so that he was put to flight by the monstrous dragon Azhi Dahāka (later semitized into Zahhak) and finally killed.

Ehni¹⁹ has done much to show that Yama originally was a god. He is treated as such in the Veda, where he is a friend of Agni and sometimes is identified with him. Moreover, everything tends to make us believe that Yama is the setting sun. He is the son of Vivasvant, 'whose light spreads afar,' who according to Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 43) is the rising sun. He follows the path of the sun to go to a remote recess. The path of the sun was a symbol of the path of human life and, as a matter of fact, the same words were used in Sanskrit for the death of men and for the sunset.²⁰ Of the sun, it is said in Indian literature that it is the sure retreat. The sun is a bird and has birds as its messengers, like Yama and Yima. Like a sun-god Yama has two steeds, golden-eyed and iron-hooped. In Iran, the solar nature of Yima is rather more emphasized than in India. He is commonly called *khshaēta*, 'the brilliant,' (Pers. Jamshēd), a set epithet which happens to be also the current epithet of the sun, *hvare khshaēta* (Pers. *khoshēd*). Moreover, he is *hvarenaiḥastema*, 'the most glorious,' and *hvardaresa*, 'the sun-like one.' These epithets are very natural if Yima was originally a sun-god but are not to be accounted for if he simply was the first man. In the same way as Yama assembles the flock of men, Yima is *hvanthwa*, 'with fine herds,' an adjective that very possibly refers to stars appearing with the setting sun. Stars are said in the Vedic literature to be the lights of victorious men going to the heavenly abodes.²¹ Yima has a golden arrow which reminds us strikingly of a similar arrow in the hands of his father Vivasvant in the Veda, by means of which he sends men to the kingdom of the dead (RV. 8. 56. 20). Other solar gods show the same features. Are these arrows rays of the sun? Even Firdausi, for whom Jamshēd is no more than a good king, speaks of his radiancy, under the influence of tradition and

¹⁹ Ehni, *Ursprüngliche Gottheit des Vedischen Yama*, p. 8.

²⁰ Ehni, *op. cit.* p. 8.

²¹ Macdonell, *op. cit.* 167. Cf. RV. 10. 68: 'The Manes have adorned the sky with pearls, like a black horse with pearls.'

older sources. Jamshēd, he says, sits like the sun in mid-air (5. 23); his fortune and his throne are resplendent; the royal grace (the Avestic *hvarenah*) shines brightly from the Shāh. That this dates back to ancient sources is proved by the fact that Firdausi has a very curious sentence about Yima, a sentence that is not at all in agreement with the nature of Jamshēd as a worldly king. The king says (5. 23): 'I will make for souls a path toward the light.' The opening of a path towards the sun, typical of Yima's activity in the Avesta, was thus meant for the dead, and the path of Yima was the path of the sun. Yima's end also is typical. When his brilliancy quits him, the world turns black to him and he disappears. When he appears again it is in the far East, where the sun rises.

Thus in Yima's story is to be found a myth of the daily death of the sun, but it is mixed with a season-myth of the death of the sun during winter. Yima's Golden Age is the kingdom of spring, when everything is radiant and luxuriant and therefore the Nāurōz-feast, the New Year's Day of the Persians occurring in March at the beginning of spring, is said to have been instituted by Yima. That season is destroyed by the demon of cold and frost, but the sun and life do not disappear for ever from the world. They are kept in reserve for the next spring like the beings in Yima's Vara. It is said literally in the Vendidad's account that in that Vara one year is one day. The disappearance of the sun in winter is thus assimilated to its daily departure to the remote recess in the world of darkness. The story of Yima's hundred years of concealment before his reappearance in the East is very much in the same spirit.

The loss of Yima's glory and his death are an allegory of the disappearance and the darkening of the sun, but are no explanation for that very decline and fall of a brilliant deity. The origin of death had to be accounted for by some accident, some defilement, some guilt. No wonder, then, that there are traces of a fault committed by the first men. There are hints that Yima lost his good fortune and sanctity by giving to men a food of life reserved to gods. In the Gāthās of Zoroaster there is a prayer to Mazdāh in order to avoid faults such as Yima's, who gave men meat to eat in small pieces,²² as it is offered to the gods in sacrifice. Another form of the legend is preserved in

²² Ys. 31. 8.

Saddar 94, where it is reported that Yima unawares gave meat, the godly food, to a demon. This story, of course, savors of the Semitic tradition by which God cautions the first man against eating of the food of life²³ or by which Ea practices a deception in order to prevent man from doing so. An Iranian colorless replica of that story of Yima is, of course, the legend of the first pair Mashya-Mashyōi who take to eating the creatures of Ormazd and, e. g., milk a goat in the wilderness. That lack of respect for Ormazd's creatures makes them the prey of Ahriman.

According to Zoroaster's conception, lie, falsehood, and disorder being the sins *par excellence*, Yima later came to be considered as having lost his glory by a sin of presumption and deceit. He told men that Ormazd's benefits were his and he wanted to be adored as a god.²⁴ But it was unavoidable that the stories of incest should mix with the tradition of a sin depriving man of immortality and brilliancy and therefore Yima's sin in Iran is sometimes said to have been intercourse with demonesses while his sister Yimāk was by him given to a demon,²⁵ a modification of the story of incestuous union between the two primeval twins preserved in the Vedic story of Yama and Yamī.

The very interesting but also very intricate myth of Yima as we find it in Iran seems also to have combined with the story of the dying sun, the well-known old myth by which men and other creatures are the product of a fecundation of earth by sun.

We have seen that Yima's arrow was typical of a sun-god and was also found as Vivasvant's weapon, who made use of it so as to kill men. Yima applies his arrow to quite another performance described somewhat mysteriously, in Vend. 2. 18: 'At mid-day, Yima stepped forward towards the way of the sun. He scratched the earth with the golden arrow and touched it with the scourge, speaking thus: "O Spenta Ārmaiti, thou beloved, open asunder and stretch thyself afar to bear flocks, herds and men."' Does that curious operation not appear to our minds as the modification of a fecundation of Mother Earth by the sun-god?

Let us finally point out the influence of the Chaldean deluge-stories on the conception of Yima's winter. A season-myth

²³ Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 551.

²⁴ Yt. 19. 34.

²⁵ Būd. 23. 1.

accounting for the disappearance of vegetation in the severe winters of Iran has become a destruction of mankind but for those who are assembled in the Vara, the construction of which is entrusted to Yima by Ahura Mazdāh. Instead of occurring every year, that destruction is supposed to have occurred in primeval times or—according to later books—some time before the end of things. The identification of Mahrkusha's Winter with *Malkōsh*, or 'autumnal rain,' is late. Mahrkusha is an Iranian name, akin to *mahrka*, 'death, destruction.'

We have seen how another deluge-story, that of Tishtrya, a rain-myth connected with the beneficent storm-rains of the dog-days, has been made into a primeval deluge of a beneficent nature. It seems therefore that the Iranian deluge-stories have developed, in striking parallelism with similar Chaldean stories, from nature-myths of the same kind but have assumed a widely differing character. It does not seem probable that we have here to do with any borrowing, though mutual influence is hardly deniable.

We have reached a similar conclusion concerning the storm-myths, though here the Chaldean influence seems more important and is discoverable in the borrowings of several details, such as the struggle for the kingly power represented by a *hwarenah*, the part played by birds or bulls, the contest between order and disorder²⁶; all this has enriched the old Indo-European myth of the storm and the captive waters. The making of man out of some part of a god's body is a Semitic idea which has modified the Indo-European myth of the primeval giant, but the trace of Akkadian influence on Iranian cosmogony is discoverable especially in the conception of the gradual producing of order in the world in spite of the forces of disorder personified in dragons living in the deep.

²⁶ The idea of a bringing of order into the world at the origin of things is, it is true, found in most mythologies, and similar beliefs existed among Indo-Europeans. What is meant here is that the special aspect which that conception assumes in Iran is so near to Chaldean ideas that interrelations are probable.

The Etymological History of the Three Hebrew Synonyms for 'to Dance,' HGG, HLL and KRR, and their Cultural Significance.—By JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Professor in the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

There are several words in Hebrew for 'to dance.' They may be divided into two groups according to the motion they connote. פזז, רקר, and possibly also פסח, seem to connote a dance with a hopping or jumping motion, while חול, חנג, and כרר describe a whirling, circular dance. Only the last three words concern us here.

According to Gesenius the fundamental meaning of the stem חול is 'to revolve in a circle,' 'to turn,' while in Hebrew 'to dance' is the simplest meaning of the word. However it is questionable whether 'to revolve in a circle,' or even 'to turn' are absolutely simple and fundamental concepts. In all likelihood, as we shall see, the original meaning of this stem was 'to be round,' and from this the secondary meanings, 'to revolve in a circle,' 'to turn' and 'to dance,' evolved.

It is interesting that of the various words in Hebrew and other Semitic languages for 'to be round,' two, חוג and כור, are strikingly similar to the two words for 'to dance,' חנג and כרר. We may infer that חנג and כרר are both secondary formations from חוג and כור respectively, and that consequently the fundamental concept of these three words for 'to dance' was 'to be round.'

It is somewhat surprising that inasmuch as from the two ע"ו verbs, חוג and כור, 'to be round,' the ע"ע verbs, חנג and כרר developed, the same process did not take place with the other ע"ו verb, 'to be round,' חול, and that it itself came to connote 'to dance,' without developing a corresponding ע"ע form, חלל, with this connotation. However it is not unlikely that some

¹ Gesenius¹⁴, 707.

² Ibid. 581.

³ Ibid. 593.

⁴ Ibid. 195.

⁵ Ibid. 191f.

⁶ Ibid. 328.

such evolution did take place. For on the one hand the forms *מחללות*⁷ and *מחללים*⁸ could quite as well be from *חלל* as from *חול*. And on the other hand we need not doubt that *חלל*, 'to pierce,' 'to wound,' in other words 'to make a round hole,' which all modern lexicographers⁹ distinguish most carefully from *חלל*, 'to profane,' is a secondary formation from *חול*, 'to be round.' This would account for the following derivatives:

*חליל*¹⁰, a flute, i. e. an instrument through which a round hole (or holes) has (have) been pierced¹¹;

*חלה*¹², probably not 'a pierced cake,' as Gesenius suggests, but rather 'a round cake.' *חלת לחם* would then, both in origin and development, closely parallel *כור לחם*, from *כור*, 'to be round';

*חלון*¹³, 'a window,' i. e. 'a round opening';

*מחלה*¹⁴, 'a cave,' i. e. 'a round hole in the earth.'

But are the words which the lexicographers distinguish as *חלל* I and *חלל* II related? At first glance this differentiation seems correct, since *חלל* I, 'to profane,' is equivalent to the Arabic *حَلَّ*, while *חלל* II, 'to pierce,' is equivalent to *خَلَّ*¹⁵. However the connection of *خَلَّ*, 'to pierce,' and *خَلَّة*, 'a hole,' 'an opening,' *خِلَال* 'an instrument for boring,' 'around' (in a semi-prepositional sense), *خَلِيل*, 'pierced,' and, singularly enough *خَوْل* (from *خال*), 'a dancer'¹⁶ with the other meanings of this same stem, is not at all clear. But since in Arabic *حال*, and not *خال*, means 'to become crooked,' 'to change,' apparently in the simplest meaning also 'to be round,'¹⁷ it follows in spite of the above seeming contradiction that the relation-

⁷ Jud. 21. 23.

⁸ Ps. 87. 7. Usually amended to *מחללים*.

⁹ Gesenius¹⁴ 212 (but cf. Thes. 1. 477); Siegfried-Stade, 204f.; König, 110 and Brown-Driver-Briggs, 319ff.

¹⁰ Gesenius¹⁴, 209.

¹¹ Cf. also *נחילות*, Ps. 5. 1.

¹² Ibid. 208.

¹³ Ibid. 208.

¹⁴ Ibid. 374.

¹⁵ Lane, 1. 777ff.

¹⁶ Dozy, *Supplément*, 1. 413.

¹⁷ Lane, 1. 673ff.

ship of חַל and חָל is more fundamental and certain than it seemed at first sight. Therefore there may still be some relationship between חָל I and חָל II, and they may even be one word, as in fact Merx¹⁸ and Gunkel¹⁹ hold. And granting that חָל II, 'to pierce,' is derived from חָל , the question arises whether חָל I, 'to profane,' in Arabic حَل ²⁰, be in any way related to חָל .

However, before discussing this question let us briefly consider the other common word for 'to dance,' חָנַג . We have seen that in all likelihood it was derived from חָוַג , 'to be round.'²¹ From it we have חָנַג , originally 'a round dance,' secondarily 'a festival.'²² The word is used in its original sense in Exod. 13. 6 and undoubtedly also in Ps. 118. 27.²³ The Targumic and Talmudic word חִינְנָא connotes (a) 'a circle,' 'dancing,' 'chorus,' 'feast,' (b) 'a dancing-place in a vineyard' (= מַחֹל), (c) the name of a musical instrument (= חָלִיל), and (d) 'a fair,' 'a cattle market' (= Arabic حَج)²⁴.

It is apparent that the words חָנַג - חָוַג went through much the same evolution as חָל - חָל , and this independently of the latter words.²⁵ In this connection it may also be noted that in Syriac the secondary meaning of ܚܢܓ 'to grieve,' 'to bewail,'

¹⁸ *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 201.

¹⁹ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 31.

²⁰ Lane 1. 619ff.

²¹ That this was the original meaning of this word may be inferred from the other Hebrew derivatives, חָוַג , 'the horizon' (Gesenius²⁶, 194) and מַחֹנֶה , 'a circle' (instrument; *ibid.* 373), and from the Aramaic חֻוְנָא , 'a circle' (Jastrow, 430a), חָוַג , 'to turn', 'to describe a circle' (*ib.* 424a), and חֻוְנָא , 'a circle' (*ibid.* 424a). (Cf. also Nöldeke, ZDMG. 41. 719, and Wellhausen, *Reste*²⁷, 110). Note also the Syriac ܚܢܓ and their derivatives (Payne-Smith, 1190f. and 1217f.) and also ܚܢܓܐ , 'a cave' (Brockelmann, 103a); 'an idol shrine' (Payne-Smith, 1190).

²² Gesenius²⁸, 191.

²³ Cf. Baethgen, 356.

²⁴ Jastrow, 458a. Cf. also חִינְנָא , חִינְנָא , and the derivative חָנַג , 'to play the חִינְנָא ', 'to dance' (Jastrow, 481b).

²⁵ It is therefore not at all surprising that almost invariably the Targum renders the Biblical מַחֹל or מַחֹלָה by חִינְנָא (cf. Exod. 15. 20; Jud. 21. 21; 1 Ki. 1. 40; Ps. 87. 7; Lam. 5. 15 (חִינְנָא)). Note also that in Am. 8. 10 חָנ is used exactly as מַחֹל in Ps. 30. 12 and Lam. 5. 15.

parallels the secondary meaning of the other word for 'to dance,' דָּנָה, 'to grieve,' 'to lament.'²⁶

That this evolution took place independently with both stems, חוּל-חול and חוּג-חוג, and apparently, in part also with רָקַד, shows that not the words themselves gave rise to and furthered this evolution, but rather the significance attached by the primitive Semitic mind to dancing as a peculiar and purposed ceremony. Or, to be more specific, the word חִינָּה, 'a dancing-place in the vineyard,' could never have developed from חוּג (חוּג), 'to dance,' paralleling precisely the development of מחול from חול, had not some deep meaning and purpose attached to the general rite of dancing, and particularly of dancing in the vineyards.

As a rule every vineyard in ancient Israel had a מחול, etymologically 'a dancing-place,' an open space from twelve to sixteen cubits in width, surrounding the entire vineyard between fence and vines.²⁷ Bertinoro²⁸ states that in this מחול the maidens of Israel used to celebrate their vineyard dances. Jud. 21. 21 implies that regularly at the celebration of the annual *hag* the maidens of Shiloh came forth to dance in the vineyards. A more detailed statement is given in the Mishna.²⁹ 'Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said, "Israel had no festivals like the 15th of Ab and Yom Kippur, for on them the maidens of Jerusalem used to go out, clad in white garments, that had been borrowed, in order not to put to shame those who had none. All these garments had to be previously dipped in water. And the maidens of Jerusalem would go out and dance in the vineyards. And what would they say? 'Young man, lift thine eyes and see whom thou wilt choose. Set not thine eyes upon beauty, but upon the family, etc.''" To this a Boraitha adds the note that whatever man had no wife would have recourse to these dances, in order to procure for himself a mate.³⁰ The Gemara identifies the dances upon the 15th of Ab with those

²⁶ Payne-Smith, 3976ff.; also חִינָּה, 'lamentation', and חִינָּה, 'lamentable'.

²⁷ Kila'im 4. 1-2.

²⁸ Ad loc.

²⁹ Ta'anith 4. 8.

³⁰ B. Ta'anith 30b.

of the maidens of Shiloh.²¹ The Mishna states very clearly that these dances were celebrated twice each year; Josephus,²² that they were celebrated thrice annually. Jer. 31. 3f. is final proof that these vineyard dances were a common rite: 'Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be rebuilt, O virgin, Zion; again shalt thou adorn thyself with thy tambourines and go forth in the dances of the merry-makers.²³ Again shalt thou plant vineyards upon the mountains of Samaria; the planters shall plant and shall profane.'²⁴

That this was no mere idle sport is certain. The detailed account of the Mishna, coupled with the picture in Jud. 21. 21 and other evidence, which lack of time forbids presenting here, indicate that in the ancient Israelite or pre-Israelite form of the ceremony the young men regularly stood by, openly or concealed in the vineyards, as were the Benjaminites, and at the proper moment stepped forth and seized, each the maiden of his choice, to become his partner in sacred sexual intercourse for the night, and his wife and the mother of his children for the future.

An interesting modern Beduin parallel to this entire ceremony is described by Doughty.²⁵ 'Now in the mild summer is the season of *muzzayins*, the nomad children's circumcision feasts: the mother's booth is set out with beggarly fringes of scarlet shreds, tufts of mewed ostrich feathers and such gay gauds as they may borrow or find. Hither a chorus assembles of slender daughters of their neighbours, that should chant at this festival in their best array. A fresh kerchief binds about every damsel's forehead with a feather; she has earrings great as bracelets, and wears to-day her nose-ring, *zmèyem*: they are jewels in silver: and a few, as said, from old time, are fine gold metal, *thahab-el-asfar*. These are ornaments of the Beduin women, hardly seen at other times (in the pierced nostril they

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ant. 5. 2. 12.

²³ For כְּשֹׁחֲקִים as meaning 'dancers', cf. Wetzstein, ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105, n. 45. Cf. also 1 Sam. 18. 7 and 2 Sam. 6. 21, and also the undoubtedly kindred stem, קָרַח, Exod. 32. 6.

²⁴ חָלְלוּ, cf. Cornill, *Jeremia*, 332f. and also below.

²⁵ *Arabia Deserta*, 1. 168f. Cf. also Wetzstein in ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105f., note 45; Euting, *Tagebuch*, 140; Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, 48; Jaussen, *Les coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 364.

wear for every day, a head of cloves) and she has bracelets of beads and metal finger-rings. The thin black tresses loosed to-day and not long, hang down upon their slight shoulders, and shine in the sun, freshly combed out with camel urine. The lasses have borrowed new cloaks, which are the same for man or woman. Making a fairy ring apart, they begin clapping the palms of their little hands, to trip it around together, chanting ever the same cadence of a few words, which is a single verse. Hungered young faces, you might take them for some gypsy daughters; wayward not seldom in their mothers' households, now they go playing before men's eyes with a downcast look and virginal timidity. But the Aarab raillery is never long silent, and often young men, in this daylight feast, stand jesting about them. Some even pluck roughly at the feathers of the lasses, their own near cousins in the dance, which durst answer them nothing, but only with reproachful eyes: or laughing loud the weleds have bye and bye divided this gentle bevy among them for their wives: and if a stranger be there, they will bid him choose which one he will marry among them. 'Heigh-ho! what thinkest thou of these maidens of ours, and her, and her, and be they not fair-faced?' But the virgins smile not, and if any look up, their wild eyes are seen estranged and pensive. They are like children under the rod, they should keep here a studied demeanor; and for all this they are not sirens. In that male tyranny of the Mohammedan religion, regard is had to distant, maidenly behavior of the young daughters; and here they dance as tender candidates for happy marriage and blessed motherhood of sons.' This festival, as observed by Doughty, took place shortly, probably only a day or two, before April 15th.

Furthermore these dances were integral parts of the celebration of ancient festivals. Jud. 21. 21 states explicitly that the dances in the vineyards were a part of the celebration of the annual *hag*, while Josephus states that they were celebrated thrice annually, i. e. presumably at the three annual harvest-festivals. The intimate connection of these dances with the annual *hag* is also implied in Jer. 31. 3ff. Finally it can be shown that the 15th of Ab, the first day upon which, the Mishna states, the vineyard dances were held, marked the close of an ancient, seven-day, agricultural festival, beginning on the 9th of Ab, as usual with mourning, fasting and bewailing the dead

Adonis, and culminating in rejoicing, merry-making, feasting, dancing in the vineyards, sacred sexual intercourse and marriage of the participating youths and maidens on the 15th. Likewise the dances celebrated according to the Mishna on Yom Kippur constituted one of the closing rites of the great annual *hag* or Succoth-festival, which, as could be shown did time permit, in the period just before the Babylonian Captivity began on the 3d of the seventh month, likewise with mourning, fasting and bodily affliction in honor of the dead Adonis,³⁶ and culminated in the celebration of the beginning of the new year on the 10th of the seventh month.³⁷ Invariably these dances were held on the last day or night of the festival.

These dances, together with the attendant sexual intercourse, were in origin undoubtedly homeopathic magical rites, celebrated in the worship of the ancient Semitic mother-goddess, and were designed to promote the fertility of vineyards and fields. But in all likelihood they served another, equally important purpose. The ancient Semites, both in the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization, strictly observed the principle of taboo, the recognition of the deity's prior right as creator to human and animal offspring and crops. Yet the tabooed object had somehow to be redeemed and rendered fit for profane use in order that the people might live. The fundamental principle of the removal of taboo, apparently among almost all primitive peoples, was that the sacrifice of a part of the tabooed object, and particularly the first and best part, redeemed the remainder. These taboo-sacrifices, first sheaves, first fruits, firstlings, and in the early stages of Semitic religion, first born, were regularly offered as part of the celebration of the great festivals, in the desert at the early spring festival, the forerunner of the Biblical Pesach,³⁸ and among the agricultural Semites at the great harvest-festivals. The first sheaves of the new grain were naturally

³⁶ Cf. Jeremiah 41. 4ff.

³⁷ Cf. Ezek. 40. 1; Lev. 25. 9. In addition to these dances on the new year's day, various appropriate rites of purification, such as sending forth the scapegoat and kindling new fires in all sanctuaries and houses of the land, were performed. These later developed in part into the peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement, and in part into the ritual of the so-called *simhath beth hašo'ebah*, a part of the celebration of the post-exilic Succoth-festival.

³⁸ Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 85f.

offered each year. The taboo-sacrifice of fruit trees, and presumably also of vines, was the entire crop of the fourth year. Before the taboo-sacrifice was offered the object was קדש. Arabic حَرَم. The offering of the taboo-sacrifice rendered it חלל Arabic حَلَل. The corresponding verbs are חלל and חלל or אכל. Possibly because the offering of the taboo-sacrifice marked the beginning of the profane, and therefore real, use of the tabooed object, חלל came to mean in the Hiphil. 'to begin.'

Deut. 20. 6 and 28. 30 and Jer. 31. 4³⁰ imply that the 'profanation' of the vineyard was an important ceremony, of which the offering of the taboo-sacrifice of the vineyards was undoubtedly the central feature. But inasmuch as these first fruits of the vines were offered at the fall harvest-festival, probably the entire festival celebration was correlated with the ceremony of 'profanation' of the vineyard. Certainly this is implied in Jer. 31. 3ff. We know from abundant evidence that the first fruit sacrifices were offered at the close of these harvest-festivals. In consequence we may safely posit some intimate connection between the dances, מחולות, in the vineyards on the night of the last day of the festival, and the sacrifice of the first fruits the next morning, and the other rites implied in the term, חלל כרם. Similarly the חג, undoubtedly the sacred dance, was celebrated on the last night of the ancient Mazzoth-festival.⁴⁰ The first sheaf of barley was sacrificed the next morning, the day after the Sabbath or close of the festival.⁴¹

Accordingly we need no longer doubt that חלל, 'to profane,' i. e. by the offering of the proper taboo-sacrifice and the other attendant ceremonies, including the festival dances, is likewise

³⁰ Cf. also Jud. 9. 27 and the remarks on חללים below.

⁴⁰ Exod. 13. 6.

⁴¹ Elsewhere (in a paper as yet unpublished) I have shown that the traditional Pharisee interpretation of the expression 'the morrow of the Sabbath' (Lev. 23. 11), viz. the second day of the Passover-festival, was less in accord with the earliest practice than the common Samaritan, Sadducee, Boethusian and Falasha interpretation, viz. Sunday, the day after the Sabbath of the festival. I have shown also, that in all likelihood the Mazzoth-festival began regularly upon Sunday; hence the 'morrow of the Sabbath' was also the day after the close of the festival.

derived from חול, 'to be round,' 'to dance,' and is therefore practically one word with חלל, 'to pierce.'

Further derivatives of חול-הלל in various related meanings are:

חלל⁴², 'profane.'

חללה⁴³, not so much 'a woman who has been profaned' (in a moral sense), as one who has participated in the sacred sexual intercourse attendant originally upon the dances. Probably חללה was primarily the technical term for a woman who had participated in these dances and in the attendant sexual intercourse; hence the Arabic حَلِيلَة, حَلِيل, 'husband,' 'wife,'⁴⁴ and the Syriac سَحْبَا, 'wedding feast.'⁴⁵

חלולים, 'the first-fruit sacrifice of trees and vines.'⁴⁶ That this word should be read with ח instead of ה, as in both Biblical passages, is certain. The offering of these חלולים constituted the characteristic rite of the ceremony described by the technical term חלל כרם. The Pešitta renders חלולים of Jud. 9. 27 by سَحْبَا, while the Targum renders it חִינְגִין. Clearly both versions read חלולים in the original text. Further proof of this confusion of the original ח of this stem with ה, and the consequent confusion with the stem חלל, is seen from the LXX rendering αἰνέσασθε for the וחללו of Jer. 31. 4.⁴⁸

In Arabic we find a practically parallel etymological development. حال (= חול) means 'to be round' or 'curved.'⁴⁹ From this we have, corresponding to various Hebrew words from חלל, 'to pierce,' حَلَا, 'a large basket' or 'a copper cooking-pot,'⁵⁰ presumably so named from its round shape, and حَلِيل

⁴² Gesenius⁴⁴, 207.

⁴³ Ibid. 210.

⁴⁴ Lane 1. 621. Lane remarks, 'According to some they are so-called because the husband is lawful to the wife and the wife to the husband: but the word (or rather each word) thus applied is ancient: not a law term.'

⁴⁵ Brockelmann, 111.

⁴⁶ Lev. 19. 24; Jud. 9. 27.

⁴⁷ All the more significant since it renders the same word in Lev. 19. 24 חלולים = سَحْبَا.

⁴⁸ Similarly the Syriac سَحْبَا, 'wedding-feast', is rendered in Mandaeen (cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 118), Targum and Talmud (Jastrow, 346a), with ח and not ח.

⁴⁹ Lane, 1. 673ff.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 1. 621.

and *تَحْلِيل*, 'the orifice in the penis, breast or udder.'⁵¹ On the other hand corresponding to *חָלַל* 'to profane,' we have *حَلَّ*, 'to be permitted (for profane use)' and *حَلَّ* (= *חָלַל*), 'that which is permitted' (opposite of *حَرَّمَ*, 'sacred, taboo'). We have also *حَلَّل* and *احلَّ*, 'to profane'⁵² and *حَلَّ*, inf. *حَلَّة*, 'to pass from out the state of ritual uncleanness (of a woman in her courses or after childbirth), or ritual holiness,' as *حَلَّ الحُجَم من إحصاءه*, 'to remove the sacred mantle worn during the pilgrimage to Mecca.'⁵³ Finally we have *حَلِيل*, 'that which is permitted,' also 'husband,' 'wife,' and *حَلِيلَة* and *حَلَال*, 'wife.'⁵⁴ It is particularly significant that according to Wetzstein⁵⁵ *حَلِيل* is the term applied to the female participant in the Beduin dance, and means 'wife and children.' Certainly the evolution of these various terms in Arabic proceeded independently of the corresponding evolution in Hebrew. This, together with the fact already noted, that a parallel evolution took place with the stem *חָלַל-חָלַל* rounds out our chain of argument. The connection of the dances with the rites of mourning for Adonis, also an integral part of the celebration of these festivals, likewise accounts for the secondary meaning in Syriac of *ܚܠܝܠ*, 'to grieve,' 'to lament.'

In Assyrian, too, a number of words may possibly be correlated with the stem *חָלַל*. In addition to *halālu*, with *חָ*, 'to pierce,' 'to conceal oneself in holes,'⁵⁶ and its immediate derivatives, there are also *malīlu*, 'flute,'⁵⁷ *elēlu*, 'to play the flute'⁵⁸ and *mutahlīlu*, 'a flute-player,'⁵⁹ with an apparently free interchange of the aspirated and unaspirated guttural. This is not so very surprising in Assyrian. There is also possibly, *alallu*,

⁵¹ Lane, 1. 622.

⁵² Ibid. 1. 619ff.

⁵³ Ibid. 1. 620.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 1. 622.

⁵⁵ ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105, note 45.

⁵⁶ Delitzsch, HWB. 276f.; Meissner, *Supplement*, 38.

⁵⁷ Delitzsch, HWB. 414a.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 73a.

⁵⁹ Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 314.

elallu, 'a water-pipe of wood, reed or clay.'⁶⁰ Another interesting and possibly significant parallel suggests itself between the two common verbs for 'to be clean,' 'to purify,' *elēlu*⁶¹ and *ebēbu*⁶² on the one hand and the two words for 'flute,' in Assyrian *malīlu* and *imbūbu*,⁶³ in Hebrew חליל and אבוב, Syriac ܐܠܠܐ⁶⁴ on the other hand. The latter word is generally derived from the stem נכב, 'to be hollow,'⁶⁵ a meaning closely related to 'to be round' of חלל-חול. Not improbably both words, *elēlu* and *ebēbu*, are secondary formations from the nouns *malīlu* and *imbūbu*, or rather from the stems אלל and אבב implied in these two nouns. This meaning, 'to be clean,' 'to purify,' may well have developed out of the ritual significance of the festivals, in the celebration of which, not only in Palestine, but as ample evidence shows, in Assyria also, both playing the חליל or אבוב as well as the dances of the maidens were important rites. Hence the secondary name of Adonis, Abo-bas.⁶⁷ Parallel to the Assyrian *elēlu* and *ebēbu* are the secondary meanings of חלל, in Aramaic, 'to wash,'⁶⁸ in Syriac, 'to purge,' 'to purify,'⁶⁹ and of the Arabic حَلَّ already noted, 'to pass from out the state of ritual uncleanness or holiness.' Possibly, too, the name of the sixth month, *Ulūlu*, may be correlated with this stem. As its common ideogram,⁷⁰ 'the month of the sending of Ištar,' indicates, in all likelihood an important Ištar-Tammuz festival was once celebrated in it, undoubtedly with playing the *malīlu* and dances of the maidens as well as other rites. With this same stem must also be correlated *ellu* and *ellitu*, 'bread' or 'cake,' identified by Jensen⁷¹ with the

⁶⁰ Delitzsch, HWB. 73a.

⁶¹ Ibid. 71ff.

⁶² Ibid. 4f.

⁶³ Ibid. 443a.

⁶⁴ Jastrow, 3b.

⁶⁵ Brockelmann, 1a.

⁶⁶ Gesenius¹⁴, 424.

⁶⁷ Movers, *Die Phönizier*, I. 202. Cf. also the names Giggas and Kinyras, both related to גִּיגַג, (ibid. 239ff.), also apparently played at these festivals.

⁶⁸ Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 201.

⁶⁹ Brockelmann, 111a.

⁷⁰ Brünnow, *List*, 10759.

⁷¹ KB. 6¹. 511.

Hebrew חלה, and together with חלה, regarded by him as a synonym of the Assyrian *kamānu*, Hebrew כֶּן, the peculiar cake or loaf used in the worship, not only of the Assyrian Ištar, but also of the western Semitic forms of the mother-goddess. It can be shown that the eating of these cakes likewise constituted an important feature of the celebration of these great annual festivals in honor of the Semitic mother-goddess and the divine child, Adonis-Tammuz. Finally, since rites of mourning for Adonis-Tammuz were also integral parts of the celebration of these annual festivals, probably *hīlu*, 'sorrow'⁷² and *elēlu*, 'lamentation?'⁷³ are also related to the original stem חלה.

This investigation might be carried further, did time permit. It would lead to the consideration of the full significance of dancing and attendant rites in early Semitic religion, of the principle of taboo and its removal, of the various Semitic shepherd and agricultural festivals and the deities in whose honor they were celebrated. In short it would mean a systematic presentation of what might well be called primitive Semitic religion. It is indeed a large and fascinating subject. It suffices, however, here, merely to have briefly indicated its possibilities.

⁷² Delitzsch, HWB. 277a.

⁷³ Ibid. 73a.

A Business Letter of Anu-šar-ušur.—By FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

This was purchased as a tablet from Senkereh, the present seat of ancient Larsa. Judging from the character of the writing and the nature of the subject-matter, it may be said that it was probably written later than the time of Nabonidus, who, as well as Nebuchadnezzar, had rebuilt the Sun-god temple of this one-time capital city.

The writer of this letter, Anu-šar-ušur, seems to be an officer of a body of men who may be doing military service. His communication is addressed to his commissariat, consisting of the Šatam and Nabu-aḥ-iddin. Food supplies, which are to come from a distance by boat for 200 men, are to be provided at an expense of six mina of silver per month. Provisions must also be secured to avert the impending famine. The proposed commission must be entrusted to a certain experienced officer and the transport by boat to the command of a second officer. These orders must be executed on the eleventh of Nisan and efficiently carried out to the end.

Description of the tablet: a well preserved brown baked clay tablet; length $6\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters; breadth $3\frac{1}{4}$ centimeters; thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters; 36 lines, 15 on the obverse, 15 on the reverse, 2 on the lower edge, 3 on the upper edge, and 1 on the right edge.

Duppi ^m *ii* *A-nu-šar-ušur a-na*
Letter from Anu-šar-ušur unto
am *ša-tam u* ^m *ii* *Nabu-aḥ-iddin*
the Šatam and Nabu-aḥ-iddin
aḥ^{pl} *-e-a ii* *Bēl u ii* *Nabu*
my brothers. May Bēl and Nebo
šu-lum u balātu ša aḥ^{pl} *-e-a*
for the peace and life of my brothers
5 *lik-bu-u a-na-ku a-mur*
speak. I, for sooth,
ina ni-is-ḫi aṭ-ṭi-bi
with the copy of the contract am satisfied,
u ana šāb-e-a ina pa-ni-ku-nu
and for my workmen, who are under your supervision,

ina kurummati-ia im-ma-il-li
 with my food supplies it is to be filled.
išt-en amardu wa-kal-tum

One steward

- 10 *ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pi-ki-da-a-an*

for this do ye appoint.

šeatum u suluppi-ia

My corn and dates

ma-la ina pa-ni-šu liš-ša-de

for as many as there are before him, let him provide.

ina ielippi a-na pu-u-tum

In a ship according to the agreement

lu-še-bi-la ul-tu

let him bring them. After

- 15 *arḫu Du'uzi VI ma-na kaspi*

the month of Tammuz 6 mina of silver

a-na kurummati^{pl}

for the food

ša CC amšābê^{pl}

of 200 workmen

tu-ul-te-bi-la-a-an

ye shall bring.

a-na ša-a-šu i-ku-lu-u'

With this it is to cease.

- 20 *en-na VI ma-na kaspi*

Behold 6 mina of silver

pi-i šammi aš-bi-la-nim-ma

for the vegetable food I have brought,

amšābê^{pl} aš-bu ma-a-ta

that the workmen who dwell in the land

la i-mu-tu-u'

may not die.

lib-bu-u ša amšābê^{pl}

Among these workmen

- 25 *a-ga-a u dul-lu a-ga-a*

and for that task,

la-at-tu-ku-nu

there is your servant,

šu-u amšābê^{pl}

the master of the workmen,

- ša ta-bu-ka-a'*
 whom ye shall take with you.
a-na amrabi še-ni-e
 To the second overseer
 30 *tir-ša-a' elippi an-tim*
 ye shall entrust that ship,
ša i-na muḥ-ḥi mu-du
 he being expert in such matters.
liš-ni-din na-bi-e še du id
 May he give orders for the grain (to go forward)
a-na umi XI^{ham} arḫu Nisannu
 on the 11th day of the month of Nisan
a-na du-lu ša-du-nu
 for the work.
 35 *kap-du ḥarrānāⁱⁱ a-na šēpāⁱⁱ-šu-nu*
 Do ye a well ordered road for their feet
šu-kun-na-a'
 prepare.

This tablet, which is the property of the writer, is clearly from the archives of Warka, which has never been satisfactorily excavated, the tablet having found its way to this country, like many others, by means of Arab traders. Hardly any other place in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates has produced a tablet with a name in which Anu plays a part. But in the tablets coming from Warka personal names with Anu as a component are not unusual. Indeed some tablets, aside from this, known to be from Warka have this very name Anu-šar-ušur. The influence of the Anu worship, which was founded in the days of Sumerian supremacy in the temple E-ana built by Ur-gur and often rebuilt in the city of Erech, could scarcely have come to an end with the close of the Neo-Babylonian period to which our tablet doubtless belongs. The latest tests at Wuswas show that the building E-ana was in use during the Seleucid reign.

P. S. Since the preparation of this paper it has been discovered, as shown by a tablet now in the Museum of Yale University, that Anu-šar-ušur was the overseer of the temple E-ana in Warka (*amKi-i-pi ša E-ana*) in the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM FOR A MEETING OF THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

At a meeting of the Directors of the American Oriental Society held in conjunction with the Annual Meeting last April, a resolution was unanimously passed looking toward the establishment of a Western Branch of the Society. It was voted that a committee be appointed to consider the advisability of forming such a branch and to report thereon to the Directors. The committee was constituted as follows: Professors BREASTED, of Chicago (chairman); OLMSTEAD, of Columbia, Mo.; MORGENSTERN, of Cincinnati; and CLAY, as Treasurer of the Society.

A meeting of the Chicago members interested in the undertaking was held at Chicago in August, Professors Olmstead and Montgomery also being present, and tentative plans were discussed. The Western Committee subsequently made arrangements for a meeting of the Western members at the University of Chicago on January 27, 1917, the program for which is subjoined in preliminary form.

It is hoped that all Western members of the Society will take an interest in this meeting. The movement should lead to the establishment by the Society of a Western Branch, and so contribute to the enlargement of the Society's membership and to its good fellowship. The proceedings of the meeting will be reported promptly in the JOURNAL.

PARTIAL PROGRAM

FOR THE MEETING OF

THE ORIENTALISTS OF THE WEST AT CHICAGO,
JANUARY TWENTY-SEVENTH, 1917

MORNING SESSION AT NINE O'CLOCK

Address of Welcome by Dean JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL.

Temporary Organization.

Papers:

Recent Archaeological Discovery in China (illustrated),
by Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Curator of Anthropology at
the Field Museum of Natural History.

Assyrian Government of Dependencies,
by Prof. A. T. OLMSTEAD, University of Missouri.

The Ship-building Papyrus from Elephantine,
by Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago.

The Travels of Evliya Effendi,
by Prof. ALBERT H. LYBYER, University of Illinois.

Other papers in course of arrangement.

Inspection of Haskell Museum collections conducted by
Director.

MIDDAY SESSION AT ONE O'CLOCK

Luncheon tendered the visiting Orientalists by the Uni-
versity of Chicago at the Quadrangle Club.

AFTERNOON SESSION AT HALF PAST TWO O'CLOCK

Business meeting to decide upon the advisability of
organizing a permanent Western Branch of the
American Oriental Society.

Papers:

The Byzantine Land System,
by Prof. J. E. WRENCH, University of Missouri.

The Elephantine Aramaic Papyri and Hebrew Religion,
by Prof. J. M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago.

If time permits there will be a visit to the Oriental collec-
tions of the Field Museum under guidance of Dr.
LAUFER.

EVENING SESSION AT SEVEN O'CLOCK

Dinner at the Quadrangle Club.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON¹

Christopher Johnston, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental History and Archæology in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., died of heart disease, in his fifty-eighth year, on June 26, 1914. He was a member of the American Oriental Society since 1889, and a member of the Faculty of the Johns Hopkins University for nearly twenty-five years, having been appointed instructor in 1890. Although he was confined to his bed for the last four years and never free from pain, his mind remained clear and active, and he continued to take great interest in the University and his work. At the beginning of the second year of his illness he even tried to conduct an advanced class in Cuneiform Letters, a subject to which he had devoted his dissertation, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, which was published in vols. 18 and 19 of our JOURNAL, and which is recognized at home and abroad as one of the most valuable contributions to this difficult field of research (cf. BA 4. 501. 25). He completed this work at Camp Wilmer where he was serving as First Lieutenant in the Fifth Regiment of the Maryland National Guard at the beginning of the Spanish-American War (May, 1898).

When the late Professor Winckler, of Berlin, inaugurated, in conjunction with Dr. Alfred Jeremias, of Leipzig, the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, the editors invited Professor Johnston to contribute a volume of translations of selected Assyro-Babylonian letters. The late Professor R. F. Harper, of Chicago, submitted to Professor Johnston the manuscript of his translation of the Code of Hammurapi which appeared in 1904. Professor Johnston also prepared a revised American edition of Professor Sayce's *Ancient Empires of the East*, and contributed a *History of Israel* to this work. At the suggestion of President Gilman, who was Editor-in-Chief of the *New International Encyclopædia*, published by Dodd, Mead & Co. of New York, Professor Johnston completed all the Egyptological articles which had been prepared by the distinguished Egyptologist Professor W. M. Müller of Philadelphia.

Professor Johnston had quite a number of students in his

¹ Presented at the first session of the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, New York, April 8, 1915.

Egyptian courses at the Johns Hopkins University including Professor Ember whose researches on the relations between Egyptian and Semitic bid fair to inaugurate a new era in comparative Egyptian philology (*cf.* OLZ 17. 424).² He was, however, chiefly interested in Assyriology, especially in cuneiform lexicography. A list of his papers on Assyrian and Egyptian history, archaeology, and philology was given in No. 257 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (July, 1913). He continued to publish valuable Oriental papers almost to the time of his death. He was also an authority on genealogy and was often consulted in that capacity; in fact, he was the genealogical arbiter of the Colonial Dames of Maryland and Virginia.

He had a remarkable linguistic equipment for his work. He was not only acquainted with Egyptian and Assyrian, as well as the other Semitic languages, especially Arabic and Hebrew, but was also a good classical scholar, and could read French, German, Italian and Spanish. He was a graduate of the University of Virginia where he had studied Greek under Professor Gildersleeve.

In 1880 he received the degree of M.D. at the University of Maryland, and in 1911 this institution conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He was also a Corresponding Member of the *Société Archéologique* of France, and there is an exceptionally full biography of him in the German *Who's Who?* known as Degener's *Unsere Zeitgenossen*.

He had practised medicine for nearly ten years before he began the systematic study of Oriental Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, and this stood him in good stead when he interpreted the cuneiform reports of ancient Assyrian physicians (*cf.* JAOS 18. 161-163). His father was one of the leading surgeons of Baltimore.

Professor Johnston's work gave evidence of unusual general culture and was always characterized by uncommon sense. Yet he was a most modest and gentle man. He never asked anything for himself. Nor did I ever see him angry. I never heard him utter an unkind word. Nor did he complain during his long illness.

² It might be well to add in this connection that Lagarde remarked in his *Mitteilungen* 4. 373 (1891): *Ich kann mich von dem Glauben nicht losmachen, dass das älteste Ägyptische mit dem Semitischen näher zusammenhängt als jetzt angenommen wird.*

Whenever I think of him I am reminded of the passage in the Book of Numbers (12. 3) where a later writer says of Moses: *The man was very meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth.* Gentleness and modesty were Professor Johnston's chief characteristics. But he was not only a gentle man and a gentleman, he was also a fine scholar of broad culture, sound judgment, original ideas, and exceptional linguistic attainments. We shall always hold him in grateful remembrance. Nor will his name be forgotten in future generations inasmuch as he requested Mrs. Johnston before his death to present his valuable library to the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

The annual meeting was held at Haverford College, Pa., on Dec. 27-28. There was a large attendance of members and 30 new members were elected. Dr. Jastrow gave the Presidential Address on 'Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament.' Several papers of general Oriental interest were presented, among them 'Alcohol in the Bible,' by Dr. Haupt; 'The Worship of Tammuz,' by Dr. Peters, holding that its origin was connected with the planting and so the burial of the seed; 'The Evolution of the Ashera,' by Dr. Barton, who maintained that the symbol was a development of the palm tree; 'Two Babylonian Religious Texts from the Time of the Dynasty of Agade,' by the same scholar, on texts in the University of Pennsylvania, regarded by him as the earliest extensive religious texts known from Babylonia; 'A Palestinian Mortuary Amulet on Silver Foil,' by Dr. Montgomery; 'Rhabdomancy and Belomancy in the Old Testament,' by Dr. Haupt, who held that the supposed references to these arts are not valid.

Several important archæological papers were presented by Prof. W. J. Moulton, one time Director of the Jerusalem School. He gave a fresh study of an inscription at Cæsarea, which had been only inadequately interpreted by Germer-Durand, Clermont-Ganneau, and others. His careful study shows that the text belongs to the age of Justinian, probably almost exactly to the date 538; it is of importance to the study of the Palestinian paganism of the time, as the text refers to a temple of Hadrian as existing then in Cæsarea. His interpretation of a fragmentary inscription at Petra naming a certain Harith, inclined him to view it as the epitaph on the tomb of Aretas IV. Illustrated lecture talks on Palestine and Syria by Professors Moulton, Benzinger, Fullerton, and Dr. Sartell Prentice, gave added interest to the meeting. The latter presented unique pictures of his own taking of the Sik or gorge leading into Petra.

The following officers were elected: President, W. J. Moulton; Vice-President, J. A. Montgomery; Secretary, M. L. Margolis; Corr. Secretary, H. J. Cadbury; Treasurer, J. D. Prince; Associates in Council, J. A. Bewer, H. Hyvernât, M. Jastrow, Miss Kendrick, C. C. Torrey.

The meeting of the Managers of the School at Jerusalem was held in connection with this Society. Much interest was expressed in the necessity of making a forward move to take advantage of the opportunity upon close of the war. Prof. C. C. Torrey was elected President, Dr. J. B. Nies, Secretary, Prof. J. H. Ropes, Treasurer.

J. A. M.

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

These two societies met at Washington University, St. Louis, December 27-30. The meetings were a rare success, showing admirable planning and execution and characterized by the finest hospitality. Among the papers presented of orientalist interest were: "Specimens of Arabic Poetry in English Translation," by Dr. Sprengling; "The Marriage of Hosea," by Dr. Water-

man; "The Sources of the History of Alexander the Great," by Dr. R. B. Steele; "The Studio of an Egyptian Portrait Painter," by Dr. Breasted.

In the Archaeological Institute Prof. F. W. Shipley was re-elected President, and Prof. J. M. Paton Editor-in-chief of the Journal.

Elections in the Philological Association were as follows: President, Kirby F. Smith; Vice-President, James R. Wheeler; Secretary and Treasurer, C. P. Bill; Executive Committee, Campbell Bonner, R. W. Husband, W. B. McDaniel, Grace H. Macurdy, A. L. Wheeler.

Both societies will meet at the University of Pennsylvania next year.

W. B. McD.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Oriental studies and members of our Society played an unusually large part in the meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Cincinnati, December 27-30. Easily first in interest was the program devoted to China and Japan. Our fellow member, Professor Asakawa of Yale University, gave a most illuminating paper detailing the life of a Monastic Sho, a quasi-feudal manor, in Mediæval Japan, and Professor Munro of Princeton, in discussing it, pointed out how necessary such studies were before we could understand the parallel development in Europe. Mr. E. T. Williams, of our Department of State, told of the Chinese social institutions as a foundation for republican government, and illustrated present conditions by copious references to the past. Modern conditions were further discussed by Professor Latourette of Denison University and by Professor Hornbeck of the University of Wisconsin.

Another program of interest was devoted to Constantinople. A paper of Professor van den Ven, of Louvain, showed that the Byzantine Empire begins with Constantine. Our associate, Professor Lybyer of the University of Illinois, described Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire with a facility

which could not conceal the unusually wide knowledge demanded. Professor Coolidge, of Harvard University, closed the meeting with a brilliant paper on the various claims, national, geographical, and historic, upon Constantinople.

Finally, in the ancient history section, a third member of our Society, Professor Olmstead, of the University of Missouri, in a paper entitled 'Mesopotamian Politics and Scholarship,' showed how close has been the relation between research and governmental activities in the Near East. Not the least worthy of remark was the enthusiasm displayed at the news of a prospective Western Branch of our Society.

A. T. O.

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